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EDITORIAL

IN 1936 a commission was appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to consider a reform in the methods of training men for the ministry. No information has yet been published as to the progress of its deliberations. We should like to know when the report may be expected, or at least how matters now stand. We hope that the protracted nature of the proceedings is due to the fact that the commission intends to make root and branch recommendations which are naturally taking longer to prepare than would proposals of a tinkering sort. Although the war has made the commission's task in some respects more difficult, yet it is no less urgent, and in other respects it should be easier. The disturbance and, if the war continues, the gradual suspension of the existing methods of training for the ministry open the door to bolder plans than might otherwise have been admitted as feasible. The sooner such plans can be brought before the Church the better, so that they may be carefully examined and that there may be a general preparedness for their practical execution as soon as conditions permit. Plans for reform must embrace much more than the General Ordination Examination, though that indeed needs a thorough overhaul. A decision must be made as to whether the Church is going to raise the standards of admission to the ministry, to establish a system of probation or test schools, and to require a longer period of training, even if this involves, temporarily at least, a considerable reduction in the number of candidates accepted. Again, is training for the ministry to be left as much as it is now to private enterprise and under sectional control? We know of no Church whose methods are so haphazard as those of the Church of England. And is there to be no differentiation between the training of town and country clergy? We shall shortly publish an

article on this last question which was sent to us by Canon H. L. Hubbard before his lamented death.

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In the nineteenth century there was a great outburst of improved opportunities for clerical training. An interesting and fully documented summary of these developments has just been published by Dr F. W. B. Bullock in his introduction to *The History of Ridley Hall, Cambridge*,[1] a book which is much more than of domestic interest to the members of that seminary and which will be indispensable to all who study the history of Anglican preparation for the ministry. Theological colleges sprang into existence rather like the British railway system. They were not the outcome of a concerted plan. There was, however, an abundance of human and material resources, of initiative and resolution. Under the different conditions of this century fresh or additional resources will not easily be forthcoming; it is therefore necessary to review the use that we are making of those which we have inherited and to show the same initiative and resolution in reshaping them to meet the Church's present needs. We notice that salutary changes are being carried through at St David's College, Lampeter,[2] which in the course of time should produce valuable effects in the quality of the ministry of the Church of Wales. Can the Church of England take corresponding steps towards putting its house in order? One plan which we hope may be seriously considered is the foundation of a "Union Theological College," not in slavish imitation of those which already exist in America and in the Far East, but in the spirit of the ecumenical movement. We have much sympathy with the correspondent whose letter we publish this month, and who says that if he wants to hear a good sermon he resorts to the ministry of Presbyterian divines. Anglican colleges unquestionably have much to learn from the Evangelical Churches as regards training in preaching, just as *they* may have something to learn from us about the ministry of the sacraments. Moreover, in such an enterprise the collaboration of the exiled Russian Church might be forthcoming; that, too, would be beneficent in its consequences.

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[1] Cambridge University Press. 18s. Copies obtainable only from the Principal of Ridley Hall.

[2] See *Handbook for 1941-42* (St David's College, Lampeter).

Whatever may be thought of this particular suggestion, we trust that the Archbishops' commission will not shrink from recommending radical measures because they would involve a break with existing methods or would offend existing interests. This is a point at which a strong lead given now might make all the difference to the future work of the Church in this country. If this commission or the hierarchy as a whole is inhibited against giving such a lead, we must pray that God will raise up once more such individual giants as broke through official lethargy in the past. Dr Bullock's book affords inspiring evidence of what can be done by men who clearly see a need and determine at all costs to meet it. Curiously enough, the mass of information which he has assembled contains no mention[1] of the remarkable work that was done for his ordination candidates by John Jebb, Bishop of Limerick,[2] early in the nineteenth century.

The far-reaching results of Jebb's work may be inferred from this extract from a letter which he wrote in 1827:

> By the blessing of God on the strictness of the examination for orders which I thought it my duty to establish in this diocese, a body of very superior young divines is beginning to be formed here. Several of them have expressed a deep sense of obligation for the course of study into which they were led, and for the studious tastes and habits which they have been thence led to form. They are, in all respects, superior to the generation of clergymen that is now passing away. The improvement is striking, and it is much remarked. Within these few days an acute intelligent layman told me that these young men are not only exemplary themselves, but the cause of better habits among their elder brethren in the ministry than had formerly prevailed. Now, is there not something very remarkable in the coincidence between the call that there is likely to be for ten-fold learning, diligence, and zeal, and the formation of such a character in the rising clergy ? I own, to me, it seems to bear the impress of the finger of God.[3]

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[1] He alludes to Berkeley's abortive plan for a theological college in the West Indies, so that the omission of Jebb is not due to the fact that he was an Irish bishop.

[2] For an account of this, see Charles Forster, *The Life of John Jebb, D.D., F.R.S.* (1836), i. 237-244.

[3] Letter to Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart., M.P., *ibid.*, ii. 450 *f.*

The Real Difficulties of Modern Poetry

THERE must be many readers of THEOLOGY who, though willing enough to approach the poetry of Eliot, Pound, Auden and MacNeice with sympathy, honestly find themselves unable to derive any great enjoyment from their efforts, and therefore unable to make much of the admirable critical discussion which has been pursued in this journal during the last three years. The notes that follow are not intended as a contribution to that discussion, nor are they intended to overcome the opposition of those who have a fairly close acquaintance with modern poetry and are determined to dislike. There is no magic Sesame and no ingenious key to the appreciation of any art, ancient or modern; but perhaps a few reflections from a reader who has read a fair amount of modern poetry—some with indifference, some with dislike, and some with something more than enjoyment—may be useful to other people. The passion to share our enjoyments is not the immediate source of the higher and more scholarly branches of criticism, but it is none the less fundamental; the very sight of someone else enjoying himself sometimes serves to broaden—or deepen—our own appreciation far more than any detailed " explanation."

Many of the difficulties of which readers complain in modern poetry can be fairly easily removed. Contemporary poets sometimes use technical, scientific, unfamiliar words, which the reader has to look up in the dictionary (a few days ago I looked up " chthonic," which appears in T. S. Eliot's new poem *The Dry Salvages*), just as the sixteenth and seventeenth century poets used words from the new sciences and new geographical discoveries that were unfamiliar to many of their readers. Many of the poets, too, make reference to unfamiliar myths, legends and historical events; and instead of introducing these with a flourish, as Arnold introduces the final simile of *The Scholar Gipsy*,

> As some grave Tyrian trader from the sea,

and working them out at some length, they often make the reference concisely and casually, as does William Empson, when, writing a poem about waste and loss, he says:

> It is the Chinese tombs and the slag hills
> Usurp the soil, and not the soil retires.

He explains in a note that this is a reference to the legend (not true) that a fifth of the soil of China is given up to ancestral tombs. Many other poets have given us notes, and an acquaintance with Frazer's *Golden Bough*, which has become a source-book of modern poetry, helps one to clear up a number of puzzles. Third, there is the private allusion and the private meaning given to an image—for instance, Auden's "long aunts" and his "sinister tall-hatted botanist" who "stoops at the spring with his insignificant phial." The keenest Auden fans may be at a loss to dig out all that the poet put into these images; but I do not think this is a serious obstacle, for most of them are effective enough at their face value. I read the tall-hatted botanist as the scientist who uses his skill to destroy rather than to create or heal; to Auden he no doubt means something more; but the image can play its part in the poem without any recondite explanation.

Difficulties of this order need a little effort and patience; but the assumption that it is worth while making this effort itself creates a major difficulty for many readers, who are willing to take trouble over bridge or crosswords, but object to taking trouble over poetry. The answer to that is that if poetry is to give you something more than a reflection of what you know and feel already, you must put as much effort into it as you put into bridge or crosswords.

The real difficulties of modern poetry are not, however, superficial or accidental, but are bound up with its characteristic qualities. Poets like Eliot, Pound and Auden expect their readers to take trouble; they expect them to open their books in a frame of mind very different from that invoked by William Morris in his Prologue to the *Earthly Paradise*:

> Dreamer of dreams, born out of my due time,
> Why should I strive to set the crooked straight?
> Let it suffice me that my murmuring rhyme
> Beats with light wing against the ivory gate,
> Telling a tale not too importunate
> To those who in the sleepy region stay,
> Lulled by the singer of an empty day.

These writers imply that poetry *is* important, that it *can* help us to set the crooked things straight in our own beliefs and emotions, and that we do without it at our own risk. In making such demands, the contemporary poet is doing

no more than many of his predecessors. Donne, Milton, Dryden, Pope, all expected their readers to use their wits, and if their poems appear " easy " to us to-day, it is partly because we have met them so often in textbooks and anthologies that we slide over many of their difficulties, and partly because most of what they had to teach has seeped into the English language and English thought. Because we start with a prejudice in their favour, knowing that they are great poets, we are not inclined to make a fuss over their occasional obscurity. And if the poet's outlook is not always sympathetic to the modern reader—and Gray's general outlook, as expressed in the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, would probably not be endorsed by most of those who meet it in the *Oxford Book of English Verse*, if they scrutinized all its implications—that does not greatly matter. Thomas Gray is dead and gone; his problems were quite different from ours; the eccentricities of his outlook need not in any way disturb our prejudices.

The poetry most popular in literary circles from 1900 to 1920 did not make any great demands upon the reader's intellect or faith. If we look through the volumes of *Georgian Poetry*, or *Poems of Today*, we find that most of the poems are simple—and sometimes very effective—descriptions of scenery, or expressions of a single mood. The reader is asked to look at a Cinque Port with John Davidson, or at Bablockhythe with Laurence Binyon, to admire a soldier's heroism with Henry Newbolt, to regret lost youth with Quiller-Couch or Hilaire Belloc, to long for Innisfree with Yeats, for England with Mary Coleridge, for Grantchester with Rupert Brooke, for the Tewkesbury Road with John Masefield, and for the open road with almost anyone. The poems ask for a simple response; we may dislike Rye or Bablockhythe, prefer experienced middle age to romantic youth, and choose Piccadilly before any open road, but we only need agree or disagree—we are not asked to explore and modify our whole philosophy of life. But that is the terrific demand made by the poetry of Dante, Shakespeare and the Bible, and made by the best poetry of our own time. The sceptic will very rightly ask, Is it worth it ? Are these writers men of such exceptional insight that they are justified in making these demands ? And if the sceptic is not quite honest, he will settle the question for himself by quoting a line from some silly poetaster who very clearly has no such insight and no such right.

To every movement in poetry there is a fringe of the second-rate, of men who imitate the manner though they have no matter to contribute. But it is only fair to examine modern poetry at its best, and even at its best it excites hostility and bad temper.

When T. S. Eliot's poems first appeared, they made a great many readers uneasy and angry. Though the anger was usually expressed in terms of literary criticism, and the hostile reader made much of the secondary difficulties of obscure allusions and so on, it was usually provoked by Eliot's general outlook. Even the most puzzled reader of *The Waste Land* could not help smelling the death and decay in the poem. Many objected to it because they did not, in 1924, agree with Mr Eliot that western civilization was ailing, that money values had more importance in shaping men's lives than Christian values. Others objected because, even if they shared Mr Eliot's general view of our society, they did not think such a view a proper subject for poetry. Let the preacher denounce from the pulpit, let Dean Inge thunder in the *Evening Standard*, but don't write poetry about it. Poetry should be pleasant, bracing and delightful, they said, forgetting the poetry of Ezekiel and Isaiah, or Marlowe and Milton. Such readers might well take another look at *The Waste Land* now, with the Great Fire of London only a few months behind them; and even if they find the poem as a whole still uncomforting, they may find encouragement and pride in the fact that one of our poets had the vision to foresee, with such concrete exactness, the ruin and destruction with which so many of us are now so familiar. Many indeed may find this vision of destruction more bracing than any direct incitement to courage or hope; for the power to detect the forces of destruction, before they are apparent to the ordinary man, implies the power to control these forces. Man may create muddle and chaos, horror and injustice, but he can also counter them.

So the first big difficulty has been the reinstatement of poetry as a medium for the serious criticism of life, and most of the other real difficulties derive from this one. Harshnesses and obscurities that would be justly criticized if the poet were simply trying to describe a scene or record a familiar mood, appear differently if the poem is seen to be the vehicle of prophetic thought and feeling. Sometimes the poem is obscure because the situation which is the subject

of the poem is obscure. The poet cannot come out with a neat and clear conclusion because he feels the truth is more difficult: it resides rather in the balance of certain truths than in any one particular truth. There is a good example in W. H. Auden's poem, *Our Hunting Fathers*:

> Our hunting fathers told the story
> Of the sadness of the creatures,
> Pitied the limits and the lack
> Set in their finished features;
> Saw in the lion's intolerant look,
> Behind the quarry's dying glare,
> Love raging for the personal glory
> That reason's gift would add,
> The liberal appetite and power,
> The rightness of a god.
>
> Who nurtured in that fine tradition
> Predicted the result,
> Guessed Love by nature suited to
> The intricate ways of guilt;
> That human company could so
> His southern gestures modify
> And make it his mature ambition
> To think no thought but ours,
> To hunger, work illegally,
> And be anonymous?

As I read the poem, it makes two statements about man and society. The first stanza expresses the individual's wish for self-fulfilment—the " personal glory "—and in its image of the inarticulate animal raging for reason's gift, there is perhaps a reference to the great nineteenth-century liberal movement in politics: the oppressed and inarticulate masses longing and struggling for those rights—free education, the vote—which should help them to be articulate, to assert themselves as individuals. But the second stanza states the wish for solidarity, for comradeship, for the happiness of working humbly and anonymously for a cause (the last two lines are a quotation from Lenin). Again, there is a political parallel: in Russia, Italy and Germany we have seen men working for individual freedom, only to surrender it later to a power that considers the individual's happiness and wellbeing of little account compared with the glory of the mass, the nation. This observation does not only apply to our enemies: in Britain to-day, though individual liberty is one of the things we are fighting for, more emphasis is

placed for the moment on our duties to each other than on our personal rights or aspirations.

Auden does not present these two views as necessarily contradictory; nor does he praise the one and condemn the other. The truth, as he sees it, is not exclusively in either of these attitudes, but in the tension between the two. We can see the Christian application of the poem clearly enough, for there is the same sort of tension between the First and Second Commandments. We have a need to develop our own souls in the worship of God, and a need to serve our fellow-men, and neither by itself is enough. Auden has written elsewhere that " poetry is not concerned with telling people what to do, but with extending our knowledge of good and evil "; this poem does not urge the reader to any particular action, but it does help him to realize the nature and implications of this apparent conflict between freedom and community. By holding all the implications in balance, the poem creates a new harmony, a new synthesis; but the important point is that this synthesis is not achieved by simply transposing a preconceived idea into verse; the conflict is resolved *within* the poem.

I have dwelt on this poem at some length because it seems to illustrate the words of the Elizabethan George Chapman about obscurity: " Obscurity in affection of words and indigested conceits is pedantical and childish; but where it shroudeth itself in the heart of his subject, uttered with fitness of figure and expressive epithets, with that darkness will I labour to be shadowed."[1]

This realization that a statement may be true in a limited field, and yet be only part of the whole truth, needing the balance of its antithesis—this capability, as Keats described it, " of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts "—is allied to the wish for wholeness. The Georgian poets, as we saw, aimed at expressing one mood or impulse; William Morris kept his poetry and his social outlook in separate compartments. In more recent years, the psychologists, and those critics of art who separated " pure form " from " subject," encouraged people to think of themselves as bundles of impulses rather than as integrated personalities:

> Have seen myself sifted and splintered in broken facets,
> Tentative pencillings, endless liabilities, no assets,
> Abstractions scalpelled with a palette-knife

[1] Quoted by Herbert Read in his *Collected Poems : 1913-1925*.

Without reference to this particular life,
And so it has gone on; I have not been allowed to be
Myself in flesh or face, but abstracting and dissecting me
They have made of me pure form, a symbol or a pastiche,
Stylized profile, anything but soul and flesh.
(Louis MacNeice.)

The poet to-day does not fence off his poetry from his other perceptions and experiences. The truths he has realized for himself about morals, politics, economics, will be implied in his poems, though there will not necessarily be any explicit mention of these things. The poet has by no means given up describing natural scenery; but we can see the change in approach if we compare Masefield's *Tewkesbury Road* (*Poems of Today, First Series*), with T. S. Eliot's *Rannoch, by Glencoe*:

Here the crow starves, here the patient stag
Breeds for the rifle. Between the soft moor
And the soft sky, scarcely room
To leap or soar. Substance crumbles, in the thin air
Moon cold or moon hot. The road winds in
Listlessness of ancient war,
Languor of broken steel,
Clamour of confused wrong, apt
In silence. Memory is strong
Beyond the bone. Pride snapped,
Shadow of pride is long, in the long pass
No concurrence of bone.

Both poets make us see the physical scene very clearly. Masefield, however, confines himself to

. . . the chattering brook, in the tall green fern at the brink
Where the harebell grows, and the gorse, and the fox-gloves purple and white;
Where the shy-eyed delicate deer come down in a troop to drink . . .

and to his own exhilaration in walking in this country. Eliot looks at his road over Rannoch, and the moor and the hills, and at the life that remains there, the crows and the deer; but he sees also the life that has vanished, the people who lived here long before the sportsman and the tourist; he sees that death by fighting has given way to death by depopulation; and he knows that the pride and dignity of the few survivors are fixed on the past rather than on the present or the future. There are no digressions here into history or politics—his eye is always on the physical scene—but a full knowledge of the history of the Highlands,

and of their life to-day, is behind such phrases as " breeds for the rifle," or " shadow of pride is long."

This attempt to render all the facets of a subject often results in tight, close-packed poems, like the two I have quoted, where a great many ideas, implications, and images are expressed in a few lines. Yet the contemporary poet can also produce lines of great simplicity and clarity:

> Love gave the power, but took the will
> (AUDEN)
> I should be glad of another death
> (ELIOT)
> Everything we look upon is blest
> (YEATS)

—yet the longer we carry them in our heads, the more we realize that the lines are not only clear but deep, and that, no less than the long poems, such lines are spoken out of a full and rounded experience. Martin Tupper, of course, was an expert in the short flat statement; and there is nothing except our sensibility to words—and our knowledge of the poet's other writings—to tell us whether such lines are Tupperisms, or whether they are packed with a significance that will slowly unfold itself within our own minds.

This concentration of meaning, this ability to imply a whole view of life in one poem or one line, is, of course, no new thing in English poetry, and among immediate predecessors we find it in Hardy and Housman. But many of the more popular poets of 1900 to 1920 had made their readers disinclined for the more strenuous pleasures of poetry which was a product of man's varied experience—as a physical creature, as a moral, as an intellectual—and which was therefore richer, more complex, and indeed more difficult.

These two main characteristics, which have proved difficulties to many readers—the poet's willingness to hold opposites in balance, and his wish to speak out of his whole self—present their special technical problems. An important feature of the close, fused poetry we have been discussing is its use of symbolism. The poets do not use imagery as so much decoration, in the way Robert Bridges, for instance, uses it in *The Testament of Beauty*. He talks of Selfhood, Breed and Reason as two horses and their charioteer: on the one hand, the abstract meaning; on the other, the allegorical disguise. If you take away the imagery, the meaning of the argument remains, and is perhaps all the

clearer. But in poems like W. B. Yeats's *Byzantium* you cannot strip off the decoration without destroying the thought itself:

> Marbles of the dancing floor
> Break bitter furies of complexity,
> Those images that yet
> Fresh images beget,
> That dolphin-torn, that gong-tormented sea.

In his poem on Birmingham, Louis MacNeice makes the words which describe the looks of the city also describe the lives lived there:

> Only a six-inch grip of the racing earth in their concrete claws,

he says of jerry-built suburban houses, and embedded in the physical description is a criticism of lives with such a shallow grasp of reality that any sudden shock will shatter their foundations. Each phrase can be read on two levels, and the sense flickers between the material and the spiritual. You can, of course, paraphrase the line by saying "The people who live in these houses are no more solidly rooted than the houses themselves"; but the paraphrase is no equivalent to the poetry, for it leaves out the shock produced by the complete fusion of the two planes, and it is the shock which makes you realize the situation intensely enough to wish to do something about it.

Here again, of course, the poets are doing nothing new. Think, for instance, of Cowper:

> Deep in unfathomable mines
> Of never-failing skill
> He treasures up His bright designs,
> And works His sovereign will;

and notice how the thought is embedded in the material image, and what new implications this particular image brings out of the thought.

Often in contemporary poetry the whole subject of a poem may be the symbol for an experience, a frame of mind, that has not yet made its way into abstract language, or for which the abstract language has been forgotten. When the American Hart Crane writes a poem about desolation and virginity he writes in terms of Labrador, and the abstract notions of desolation and virginity emerge from the poem with a new force and a new significance.

In the same way, when Yeats writes about God and Nature, the eternal and the temporal, he writes about Leda and the Swan—though Leda and the Swan have for him a special significance. It is only when there is this interaction between symbol and significance, image and allegory, that poetry exists as a unity.

> So must pure lovers' soules descend
> T'affections, and to faculties,
> Which sense may reach and apprehend,
> Else a great Prince in prison lies,

says Donne, of love; and in poetry too the abstraction must shine through the material image, and the image must give substance and new reality to the idea.

We might end with a parallel. The poet can make the simplest, commonest words the vehicle of the deepest experience (Lear's "Never, never, never, never, never," or "Pray you, undo this button, thank you, Sir"); the Christian can make the simplest, commonest acts the vehicle of his worship. The poet talks through images (and you cannot scrape the image off the thought without deadening the thought); God speaks through the created world, and you cannot reduce Christianity to abstract intellectual doctrine without losing the significance and force of the Incarnation. I would not say that poets to-day were more markedly Christian than the poets of 1910; but by restoring to material things their dignity and significance they have made it easier for Christian poetry to be written.

JANET ADAM SMITH.

Oswald Chambers, an Evangelical Prophet

OSWALD CHAMBERS was born at Aberdeen in 1874 and died at Cairo in 1917 at the age of forty-three. His life falls into five quite clear and distinct periods: his early years at home and then studying art at Kensington and Edinburgh (1874 to 1897), his training and teaching at an interdenominational college at Dunoon (1897 to 1905), his convention speaking and travels for the League of Prayer (1905 to 1911), his Principalship of the Bible Training College in London (1911 to 1915), and finally his ministry among the troops in Egypt as Y.M.C.A. Superintendent (1915 to 1917).

This is the bare skeleton of an exceptionally rich and full and varied life. His mother belonged to the Catholic Apostolic Church, but both she and her husband were baptized by Spurgeon. Oswald grew up as the son of a Baptist minister at Aberdeen till 1897, and then successively at Stoke-on-Trent (1879-1881), Perth (1881-1889), and Southgate, London (from 1889). He never won a prize when at school. He had no children's illnesses, but many children's accidents, one of which led to his giving up his apprenticeship to an engraver and so to his taking up a career of art.

His Edinburgh days as a student from 1895 and all the time he was at Dunoon till 1905 were a period of intense religious struggle and tension. Deeply, though not morbidly introspective, the claim of God seemed to him to focus on the question of his career, and after the Edinburgh period of doubt the choice of Dunoon meant the "cutting off" of the artist's right hand. The reaction was hard and the mental suffering of the Dunoon years was intense, but Chambers always believed this discipline was the most valuable experience of his early life. It was not till the end of his time there that his artistic tendencies and his philosophical and psychological as well as theological studies were really co-ordinated into the full integration of his personality through an experience of sanctification.

The liberated joy of this experience found expression in the great power of his preaching and personal work at holiness meetings in the United States and also in his intimate friendship with a Japanese with whom he travelled across America and the Pacific in the service of the League of Prayer. Then, with his marriage in 1910, he was ready for the real climax of his life's work, the years as Principal of the Bible Training College in London and as a Y.M.C.A. Superintendent of work among the troops in Egypt during the 1914-1918 war. It is from the lectures and diary, notes and letters of these last years that, through the care and industry of his wife, it is possible in some measure to see into the heart and mind of this real Evangelical saint and prophet of the Catholic Church.

Oswald Chambers left behind him no coherent and consistently worked out theological system.[1] That is the

[1] His books, *My Utmost for His Highest* and *So I Send You*, were published by Simpkin, Marshall, as was *Oswald Chambers : His Life and Work*, by his wife.

last thing he would have desired. He would have claimed simply and with justice that his outlook was that of the Bible, so far as he understood it. He is, in fact, so thoroughly biblical that no literalist could find fault with his work, and yet he is so free that his intuitional exegesis frequently casts an entirely new light on familiar verses and fundamental doctrines. No man was such a student of the Bible; no man was more free from Bibliolatry. His own Bible reading was constant and regular and his life-long daily delight, yet he could direct one seeker after a fuller life not to read the Bible at all for six months, at the same time prescribing such a dose of other reading, especially in philosophy and psychology, that the enquirer's comment afterwards was that the result was like a mental rebirth. There is a wonderful freshness in his Bible exposition which has been rare indeed in authentic Evangelical circles in England during this century.

There is a moral grasp, too, of the inevitable tension of real Christian living, which can so easily be avoided by any shallow conception of holiness. Instead of the anæmic separationism or the spineless worldliness of so much pseudo-Evangelicism, here is a deep insight into the depths of man's depravity. His emphasis on sin borders almost on dualism, with its reiterated refrain that " the basis of things is not rational, but tragic: if it were rational, the Cross of Christ would be ' much ado about nothing.' " And yet coupled with this goes sheer delight in all God's creatures and in all traces of His truth, goodness and beauty, wherever these are found.

The artist in Oswald Chambers is swept away for a time after his initial conversion experiences, but comes back, the natural transformed into the spiritual by sacrifice. No one could accuse him of worldliness, yet no one was freer of the religious counterfeit of the life more abundant: which is no less a second best following of the forerunner of the Lord rather than of the Lord Himself because it is called among Evangelicals puritanism and not asceticism. There is a period at Dunoon when he scares congregations with his denunciations, but he passes to a fuller vision of the truth of God, which sees, as Evelyn Underhill puts it, that " ' the whole earth is full of His glory ' means precisely what it says."

Again and again by the inevitable law of its own authentic character, Evangelicism lays itself open to the charge of

subjectivism. Not only, as H. R. Mackintosh emphasized, is an antinomian look the necessary corollary of any truly Evangelical presentation of the Gospel, but also hand in hand with it, as history proves, there always goes a subjective look. Now this charge of subjectivism can be rebutted by the lives of those who enjoy experience of God in the authentic Evangelical tradition only so long as they use their experiences as the jumping-off ground for new adventures of faith in the life of holiness and do not pervert them into esoteric levers for the forced conversion of others by the overwhelming emphasis of their own experience.

Over against such perverted Evangelism of the Eliphaz type (Job iv, 12) it is impressive to see in Oswald Chambers a man who experienced a most definite " second blessing " of sanctification, and yet passed on, not to deny the crucial importance of Luke xi, 13[1]—a text which he always kept on using in personal work—but to an ever greater faith in and reliance upon the inexhaustible riches of the Person of our Lord regardless of all " varieties of religious experience," or lack of them. There is guidance for all Evangelicals in this avoiding of both the Scylla of trust in " feelings " and also the Charybdis of self-deception in " kidding yourself " into believing that something has happened to you, just because of some Bible text, when all the evidence is to the contrary—a tragic error which seems to be the Evangelical counterpart of the Jesuit *excæcatio*. Between these two errors, or rather in alternating emphasis on each of them, lies the course of true progressive sanctification, marked in Chambers' case with an utter dependence upon God and yet issuing in a vitally active and not merely automatic passive obedience to the living Christ.

This, of course, meant for him a Christianity which was so thoroughly religious and divine that it could venture to be entirely secular and human. There is no need for the adoption of the defences of clericalism or pseudo-piety of life or language. In his Y.M.C.A. hut in Egypt religion was so natural that it was really supernatural and capable of meeting the needs of those who were destined not for the cloisters but for the front-line trenches of Palestine. Nothing comes out more clearly in his final course of lectures on Ecclesiastes than his intense desire to bring Christ to

[1] " If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him ?"

the twentieth-century man of the world where he really was. Either salvation for a soldier in Egypt was real at the front or it was a farce. This was no cultivation of hot-house mission plants.

Chambers' line of approach here seems to have been determined by his own personal experiences, though he never referred to them in his public talks and castigates with devastating effect all who seek to build any work of God, either individual or corporate, upon "the reminiscent" —*i.e.*, upon the arguable and demonstrated basis of past evidence of God's favour and blessing. This to him is a denial of the fundamental reliance upon the Holy Spirit. It is to take the psychological approach to the soul and to substitute it for the pneumatic, instead of using it as the invaluable instrument of the latter.

It was clearly Chambers' conviction that his initial efforts to use an artistic career with the genuine desire for the redemption of art for God were thwarted by God in order to bring him to that whole-hearted abandoning of a man's right to himself, even to his better self, which he so insistently proclaimed as of the very essence of the religion of the Cross. It was also clearly his conviction in his later Egyptian ministry that, in reaction from this desire to retain his own right to consecrate his best to God, he had gone too far in his Dunoon days of discipline in the other direction of unnatural asceticism, and perhaps in his League of Prayer missions afterwards, towards a dangerously impersonal and abstract doctrine of holiness.

Therefore, with this background, he sought more and more as life went on to put before people the ambition of becoming *themselves*—*i.e.*, what God meant them to be—not copies of anyone else, least of all of Chambers himself. He cries continually for a voice, not an echo, and in his later ministry you know that this is not the outburst of a lone individualist, but of a member of the Body of Christ, who realizes as one member of that Body how much God needs the particular gifts or talents of every other member. It is pseudo-psychological personal work that all too often produces a stereotyped conversion pattern with a dull, flat and deadly uniformity of subsequent development, whereas the work of the Holy Spirit is revealed precisely in this, that He makes all Christians different and yet binds them all together in one Holy Catholic Church.

This brings us finally to his evangelism, first as a missioner,

then at the Bible Training College, and finally in Egypt. Chambers did not stand still: there is no doubt that his views widened as his own insight deepened. It was always his greatest ambition to have " honourable mention " in anyone's relationship with Jesus Christ; but in the last year of his life he wrote " that the ' soul-saving passion ' as an aim must cease and merge into the passion for Christ, revealing itself in holiness in all human relationships." This is written out of the abundant fruit of his personal work among the troops in Egypt. Here is a difference in emphasis from the great holiness convention addresses of the middle period of his life, and perhaps a greater awareness of the infinite varieties of God's approach to the human soul.

With all this there came that mellowing of dogma and deep respect for the personal convictions of others which led to his being subjected to the playful charge of agnosticism. At the end of his nightly message in Egypt it was typical of him to say: " Well, men, whether or not you agree with what I have said is a matter of moonshine, so long as you begin to think." Mrs Chambers says that " that seemed the main motive of all his teaching, that Christians particularly should be roused to think for themselves." All this respect and reverence for human personality went hand in hand with a quite clear view of the radical transformation necessary if any man was to become a Christian. This change, Chambers maintained, in the true Johannine tradition, was one of disposition: Jesus Christ replacing in us the heredity of sin with His own heredity of holiness. For him, as for Kierkegaard, " the bird on the branch, the lily in the meadow, the stag in the forest, the fish in the sea, and countless joyful people sing: God is love ! But under all these sopranos, as it were a sustained bass part, sounds the *de profundis* of the Sacrificed: God is love." This sustained bass part of the Atonement was for Chambers no bald Gospel to be introduced necessarily in so many words into every address or to be trumpeted brazenly from the housetops as a sort of verbal talisman: it was the quiet underlying confidence and certainty of all that he was and did and said. " He hath made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin "—in the mystery of that identification lay the possibility of all Christian living.

Behind such teaching there was the glowing fire of a dominant and gifted personality, but Chambers did not

use his gifts to lord it over others in any domineering way. The freedom he allowed to those he cared for was coupled with intense, regular, persistent prayer for them. This twofold attitude would have led to an intolerable inner tension of spirit if it had not been the direct reflection of what he conceived to be God's attitude to himself. God gave him complete freedom and yet in every detail of daily life unceasingly cared for him. He reflected His Master's voice. Again and again he reverts to the sparrows and the lilies, and in the spirit of Matthew vi, 25 he comes out with the emphatic " I *refuse* to worry." This is what kept his own spirit so childlike and boyish in all his dealings with the troops in Egypt and with his own daughter, while at the same time leaving him quite free from the all too frequent stigma of arrested development and failure to grow up into mature adult life.

For Oswald Chambers it was certainly true that the *lex credendi* was the *lex orandi*. His own prayer was spontaneous, direct, simple and delightfully informal, and this was the connexion in his own life which harmonized his refreshing emphasis on the importance of the full use of the intellect as of every other human faculty with an utter dependence on the Holy Spirit " as the sagacious Ruler in the saints' affairs," distinct from and other than " astute common sense."

In some such ways as these Chambers has been for many a true Evangelical prophet for the twentieth century, and especially for its times of war. There is no shirking of the difficulties of life or of doctrine and no glossing of the hideousness of sin. Redemption is the basis of everything, and rationalism never had a severer critic than this profoundly intuitional thinker in whose style and emphasis there is more than a touch of Forsyth and of Barth. There is real development and growth right up to the end of his short life, and his wonderful balance of quiet confidence in the supernatural and real zest and interest in the natural daily life of all around him is the outward expression of that peace of God which is only to be found in the paradoxical tension of faith in seeming opposites.

" Creative living is on the yonder side of convention." This great saying of Jung's goes a long way to explain and justify that emphasis on the paradoxical antitheses of Christian doctrine and Christian living which the great Evangelicals like Charles Simeon have always laid in

distinction from the—to them—too easy synthesis of the *via media* in which Catholicism rejoices with greater security and clearer signposts. To the true Evangelical insight it always seems that, while the Catholic motto may be *medio tutissimus ibis*, yet for himself, at his best, he would prefer to risk the abyss, if only he can follow the track of the Pioneer of his faith towards the Cross at the peak. Yet how often the Evangelical falls! And, worse still, how often in an attempt to save himself he too falls back upon a pseudo-Catholic security without anything like the comprehensive theological foundation of Aquinas or the moral certainties of a textbook of confessional direction or the ordered and disciplined purposefulness of the obedience of the Society of Jesus.

It is the great service of Oswald Chambers to have recalled Evangelicals to that dangerous creative living, which, being on the yonder side of convention, is always a stumbling-block to traditional orthodoxy, whether parental or ecclesiastical. In his writings and in his life is shown a wonderful grasp of both sides of the frequent dilemmas of Christian faith and conduct. He gloried in Emerson's remark that " consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds," and this in no sense of Gnostic superiority, but out of the conviction that only in the paradoxes of seeming antitheses can the full range of Christian truth and living be grasped by the mind and in the experience of man.

Best of all, through his writings there is a real opening up of the springs of biblical life, which convention and tradition, Evangelical quite as much as Catholic, continually seal up. To drink at the living waters of Chambers' work is to receive new inspiration to dig again the wells of life for oneself. Only in so doing shall we rediscover the glorious freedom and freshness of that revival of true religion which we so desperately need and which has nothing in common with the pseudo-spirituality which Chambers simply could not stand. On his tombstone in Old Cairo stands simply the epitaph " A believer in Jesus Christ ": no frills, no fancies, but a life that " being dead, yet speaketh " and confronts us all at all times, and especially in our Bible reading, with the glorious expectancy of its ringing challenge: " In my study am I a woolgatherer or like a man looking for his Lord ?"

J. E. Fison, C.F.

Some Anglican Preachers

Some years ago the clergy were startled, and a little annoyed, by an utterance of Archbishop Davidson which seemed to suggest that Anglican sermons had scarcely kept pace with the increase of education, and hinted that preachers might bestow more attention on their preparation. In discussion with a group of laymen, the opinion was expressed that the Anglican Church had in the last half-century produced some preachers who were supremely good, but that the *average* compared unfavourably with that of other denominations.

Looking back over the outstanding preachers of the period in question, many of whom he has had the good fortune to hear, the present writer would apply the test of effectiveness, and in assessing sermons by the effect produced, rather than by the reaction at the time, many verdicts will have to be revised if not reversed.

Two names stand out as those of brilliant orators, Boyd Carpenter and Scott Holland. They presented a complete contrast. The Bishop of Ripon was small and slight, with a light tenor voice and graceful gestures. Dr Scott Holland was burly and massive, with a powerful but flexible voice, and though amazingly animated, used little gesture. The one was a favourite of the Court, the other a champion of the people. Boyd Carpenter's choice of words was exquisite: his sentences beautifully balanced, lucid and carefully polished. There were some who were deceived by his apparent simplicity, and said that because he was easy to follow he must be superficial. That was an injustice: there was thought and feeling in his polished periods and no lack of learning behind them. But their very facility deceived the hearers into thinking there was " nothing in it," and the jest that Boyd Carpenter composed his Hulsean Lectures on the way to the University Church expressed the judgment of many. The good Bishop was a broad churchman of Evangelical sympathies, and was at his best in his annual addresses to working people on Good Fridays in the Leeds Town Hall, where the North Country folk never failed to throng his simple mission service. It is said that the Bishop's brother, who was rector of St George's, Bloomsbury, was an equally fine preacher, but was seldom heard outside his own pulpit.

Scott Holland was an equally great orator, but had two qualities which Boyd Carpenter lacked: he had an immense enthusiasm for social righteousness and a deep love of the Catholic Faith. It is said that people would not listen to his sermons now, but though never short, they were delivered with such passion and vehemence that they would carry any audience along. Scott Holland rarely preached without manuscript, and any reader of his published sermons will realize that every word had its value. The jibe of a fellow-cleric, " Holland never uses one word where six will do," completely missed the mark. All the adjectives in those astonishing cascades were intended to add to or amplify the thought: nothing was meaningless.

Canon Body and Canon Hay Aitken may be taken as another pair of " opposite numbers." Both were mission preachers. Neither would read well if reported, but they exercised an undeniable appeal, mainly to simple folk, though Canon Body's Lenten addresses at St Mary Abbot's, Kensington, drew large fashionable congregations. Hay Aitken's ministry was exercised mainly in the provinces: he was a majestic figure, with a long beard and an immensely powerful voice, and recalled the conventional pictures of the Old Testament prophet.

The religious communities have not given us as many noted preachers as might have been expected. Father Maturin and Father Hugh Benson in their Anglican days were effective mission preachers and their published sermon notes are full of good material. Father Figgis and Father Waggett may be bracketed as preachers to the intelligentsia, but they were the most complete contrast in their method. Of Father Waggett it may be said that his sermons sounded far better than they read: he had an attractive delivery, but a very far from attractive style, and he possessed in a marked degree a quality we have noticed in other preachers: his " asides " were often more illuminating than his set treatment. He would break off to illustrate some point with an impromptu comparison which did not appear in the sermon as written, but added immensely to its effectiveness. Father Figgis had no grace of gesture or voice—indeed, he was a little heavy and elephantine—but he was probably the clearest thinker of his period, and clothed his thought in language which was always terse, often epigrammatic, and never wasted a word. His sermons are still well worth reading, and his method of polishing and

pruning till every redundancy and obscurity was removed is one which deserves widespread imitation.

Bracketing two other preachers of the incisive and clear-cut type, we may take Canon Mackay and the late Arnold Pinchard as marking the transition from the eloquence of former days to the severely businesslike presentation which appeals to our " hard-boiled " age. Both men had a gift of clarity and a strict economy in their use of words. Mackay probably had a greater felicity in illustration. In a few words he could make a scene live, as readers of his book *The Adventure of Saul of Tarsus* will realize. Pinchard had greater fire, and sometimes could rise to heights of real oratory.

Among preachers who were less frequently heard than they deserved to be was Canon Ottley of Christ Church. He was a preacher of real distinction, statuesque and all but motionless with right hand raised in a characteristic gesture. One felt that Illingworth's beautiful sermons should have been delivered by Ottley: Illingworth himself had a heavy droning voice which made it somewhat of a strain to listen.

Four " devotional " preachers were Canon Newbolt, Archdeacon Holmes, Canon Randolph of Ely and Canon Stuckey Coles. If they seldom ranged beyond a rather confined selection of subjects, they were all deeply versed in the Scriptures and the literature of devotion. Canon Newbolt in his prime was a preacher of real power: his colleague at St Paul's, Archdeacon Holmes, had the knack of composing extraordinarily " neat " and well-finished sermons, usually brief and always effective. He was one of those preachers who seemed to get on terms with his audience from the start, and was equally at home in addressing business men or nurses or Boy Scouts.

Head and shoulders above most preachers of his day stood Bishop Gore. He was one of the few who attempted the expository method, and his books on the Epistles or on the Sermon on the Mount show how he made the Scriptures live. It is surprising that few preachers have followed this method: it is especially necessary in these days when few are acquainted with the Bible. But it must be done well: a poor attempt is inexpressibly wearisome. Bishop Gore never disappointed his audience: he always had a message, even if it was often the same message. Gore was not afraid of repeating himself, and the same trains of thought

which can be detected in *Lux Mundi* appear again and again in his writings. He had no great gift of illustration, and his style was apt to be laboured. Some of his sentences are portentously long. Yet he was one of the few preachers of his time whose utterances really counted, and the fact that he disdained all tricks of oratory made his impassioned earnestness and sincerity the more evident.

The last war threw up a new type of preacher, the man whose acquaintance with life was perhaps greater than his knowledge of books, and whose chief qualities were sympathy and sincerity. " Dick " Sheppard, Studdert Kennedy and the Rev. Vernon Johnson may be taken as representing this type. Each had a powerful appeal and a genuine sympathy for the difficulties of life, and could talk to men in simple and even slangy phrases. We can recall the quaint remark of a certain dignitary on hearing that Studdert Kennedy was to preach for the first time in St Paul's, " Do you think he will preach or will he only swear ?" The late Professor Goudge, himself a preacher of no mean order, considered Studdert Kennedy a preacher of real originality of thought who had developed a good deal from his " Woodbine Willie " period. He was oddly unequal, and very dependent upon his audience; often he was at his best sitting on a table at a meeting of working men. At his worst, he was apt to let his audience feel that he was out of sympathy with them; we recall him addressing a gathering of exceedingly conventional public-school boys, and he was rasping and sardonic.

Four deans were eminent for their eloquence in the period under review: Dean Forrest, of Worcester, and Dean Lefroy, of Norwich, were both Evangelicals who built up large congregations by their preaching. The former was impressive and stately in the Victorian tradition, the latter picturesque and a master of vivid illustration. Dean Gamble, of Exeter, had made his mark as a preacher at Holy Trinity, Sloane Street; and Bishop Welldon, when Dean of Manchester, was in great request as a preacher.

Two men stand out as vivid personalities whose sermons owed more to their preachers' attractiveness than to their intrinsic worth. That strange figure, the Rev. Joseph Leycester Lyne, " Father Ignatius," had the advantage of a really magnificent voice, one of the three best voices in the Church of England, as it was said, the other two being those of Canon Liddon and of Archbishop Alexander of

Armagh. A striking figure with a touch of the histrionic, Father Ignatius presented a piquant blend of the Puritan and the Catholic. We have heard him at his best at a Salvation Army barracks, where he was welcomed when all the parish churches closed their doors to him. His methods were entirely unconventional: he would compose, sing and play his own hymns, and would preach at a white heat of fervour which would either convert or repel. Sometimes it had the latter result, when he wasted his time in denunciation of the higher critics (his especial bugbear) or of the authorities in Church or State. A rebel by temperament, he was entirely unfitted for the religious life, but as an Evangelical preacher he was scarcely excelled.

The inimitable Father Stanton was the only preacher who in any way approached Father Ignatius. He was a far better teacher, and took infinite pains over his sermons, but he had a somewhat harsh voice and was apt to drop it sometimes so as to be scarcely audible. But he was one of the spiritual forces of London for many years. His liberal outlook and his sense of humour differentiated him from most of his school of thought, and his saintly character shone through all he uttered. At one time he said that he was conscious of losing his power as a preacher, but he was again at his best in the last ten years of his life.

The late Rev. G. D. Rosenthal should not be omitted from the number of outstanding preachers. He made himself effective, overcoming an impediment of speech and a not very impressive appearance. His sermons are carefully constructed, and he made large use of poetry and quotation. Telling illustration and felicitous phrase were among his gifts, but over and above these there was an indefinable something which gave him the power to stir the most sluggish audience to enthusiasm. What was said of him by a Nonconformist admirer describes his peculiar quality, " If that man merely said, 'Twice two are four,' you would feel he had revealed some marvellous secret !"

Bishops have not been among our greatest preachers. Overwhelmed by the duties of their office, they have often been obliged to let the flame of eloquence be extinguished. Three Bishops stand out in our recollection as powerful preachers. The late Bishop Woods of Winchester was always an able preacher: we can recall him as a rising young Evangelical rector of St Paul's, Kersal. He developed into an expounder of the Faith who could put

profound truths into simple language and could gain a hearing for them in the least expected quarters. An officers' mess at Portsmouth was profoundly impressed by a visit he paid them, and whether he sat and played the piano, or discussed social or spiritual problems with them, he was all the time teaching the Faith with a sense of conviction which left a lasting impression.

Next we should class Frank Weston. He was a natural orator. There was something simple and unstudied about his style, and his effortless diction was a gift which no amount of training could have conferred. His love for the African and his evident sincerity lent an irresistible force to his appeal, and the Archbishop of York recalls the profound effect made by his speech in the Senate House at Cambridge on the sixtieth anniversary of U.M.C.A. The present writer was among the Oxford contingent who heard it, and on the return to the station Dr Temple records that so profound was the impression that he was still trembling. Weston was equally at home as chairman of the first Anglo-Catholic Congress. A chairman's task is calculated to cramp the style of the most practised, but Weston surmounted its difficulties and guided the vast assembly with sure touch, handling controversial issues with firmness yet with charity and bringing the series of gatherings to an end with a memorable speech, the echoes of which have not yet been forgotten.

The third of our trio of prelates is Bishop Winnington Ingram. Despite (or because of) his personal popularity, he has always been curiously under-estimated. Because he was never a pompous prelate, it was assumed, quite wrongly, that he was no scholar. Because he is a sportsman, it was concluded that he could not possibly be a preacher. Yet if we were to classify our preachers according to the effect produced, we should put Bishop Weston and Bishop Ingram at the top of the list. At Oxford, year after year, the university church would be packed for the Bishop's annual visit. He could somehow turn the most selfish and careless to think of the joy of religion, and it was on this aspect that he most delighted to dwell. If measured only by the number of men whom he induced to give their lives and talents to the service of Church or State, the influence of Dr Ingram's message would be considerable. Doubtless his " magnetic personality " had something to do with it, but his message reached many who were aloof, critical, or prejudiced. The

" beloved Bishop " was at his best talking to undergraduates, but he had an appeal to all classes, and when his work comes to be estimated his genius as a preacher should not be forgotten.

We have been surprised, in the course of our survey, to note how few great preachers have come to us from the ranks of Nonconformity. In one district we know three churches where the vicars are ex-Nonconformist ministers, and a fourth where the incumbent is the son of a famous Free Church divine. All are good average preachers, but not one outstanding. With the exception of Dr R. J. Campbell, who was, we believe, a churchman before he was a Nonconformist, almost the only striking personality we recall was Dr Watts Ditchfield, who was unrivalled in his own line as a preacher of homely, practical sermons to men.

Another singular feature is the lack of any considerable infiltration of eloquence from Ireland or Wales. In Evangelical circles there have been a certain number of Irishmen gifted with oratorical powers, such as Dean Lefroy already referred to, and possibly Dean McCormick, of Manchester, who was of Irish extraction.

Another fact which emerges is the extremely small number of laymen who have come to the fore as preachers. We can recall Mr G. W. E. Russell, who could preach an excellent sermon, and Frederick Rogers, the originator of old age pensions, who had a rugged eloquence, but there must be many men not in Holy Orders whose services could be utilized. We are sure that Lord Halifax could preach a splendid sermon, and we have heard the late George Lansbury preach a sermon which evoked audible applause. Without embarking on the thorny topic of women as preachers, we confess to a feeling of disappointment with those we have heard. A note of scolding seems to creep into their utterances, and some are so afraid of being sentimental that they are apt to be unduly hard.

The conviction is forced upon us that in spite of many limitations the parish priests form the best and least variable preachers. Some were outstandingly good, such as Prebendary Boyd, of St Paul's, Knightsbridge, or Canon Stuart, of St Matthew's, Bayswater. And some of the best sermons we recall have been preached in village churches or slum parishes by obscure men whose gifts were never recognized but whose work endures.

" A Sermon-Taster."

Christianity and Justice

An essay on Christian ethics by Dr Quick is sure of a wide welcome; his book *Christianity and Justice*[1] certainly deserves to be carefully studied. Its size is no index of its quality, and it contains acute observations on a number of topics. If this review is devoted mainly to criticizing certain of Dr Quick's theses, that must not be taken as evidence that the reviewer is blind to the value of the book.

It should be said at the outset that the author's standpoint is frankly moralistic. He nowhere questions whether the background, against which the problem of justice must be discussed, is supplied by an ethic of rights and duties. There is little hint in the book of sympathy with that careful and thorough criticism of the moralistic standpoint in Christian social thought to be found in the writings of Dr V. A. Demant. On p. 74 of his book, Dr Quick says: "If we ask in what such rights consist, it may be replied that every individual has a right to receive within the society opportunities of a *decent* livelihood, of a certain limited ownership, and of some development and expression for *his natural gifts and powers*." (The italics are my own.) It is a commonplace in certain circles to argue that the task of the Christian social agent consists, in part at least, in the rendering explicit what constitutes a "decent" livelihood for men, and within what limits their "natural gifts and powers" should receive expression. The concept of human nature is, to borrow a useful term from the Marburg neo-Kantians, the "cosmical concept" of Christian social thought. It is from the Christian insight into what man essentially is that social prescription must be deduced, and, it is argued quite logically, such a method inevitably involves the Christian in the advocacy of specific changes in the social structure.

Were one to attempt a review of Dr Quick's book from such a standpoint, one would inevitably connect his failure to offer an adequate analysis of totalitarianism with the abstract moralism he endorses. It is manifest that he confuses the "politics of despair" with the theoretical absolutism defended by such writers on political theory as the late Dr Bernard Bosanquet. Both, of course, have a common ancestor in Rousseau's darkly unintelligible

[1] *Christian News-Letter Books.* Sheldon Press. 1s.

doctrine of the general will; both agree in their immanentism; but Bosanquet's theory is rationalist in a sense in which the political philosophy (if we may use the term of their various mythologies) of totalitarian states is not. The idealist in metaphysics, from Plato onwards, has always been tempted to find in the state that which gives his significance to the individual. But the impulse has been primarily theoretical. One may repudiate the idealist's lust after synthesis, but it has its roots in a profoundly rational impulse. Perhaps one of the most terrifying features of contemporary totalitarian states is their deliberate repudiation of any rationally apprehensible standards whatsoever, and their consequent drift towards a complete nihilism.

How have these things happened? Dr Demant's answer is perhaps the most thorough that has been attempted by any Christian thinker, and, as many, who have not studied his work in detail, will know, the background of his discussion is supplied by an articulation of the notion of "natural law." Certainly he does succeed in drawing distinctions that Quick fails to recognize, but it cannot be denied that the dialectical scheme into which he fits the Nazi and Fascist revolutions is too exact in its outline to do justice to the multiplicity of the cause-factors which generated them, and which have determined their course. Moreover (and this is a common weakness of most so-called "Christian sociologists") Demant fails to some extent to ask himself the question, that Mannheim has thrust upon our attention, whether or not some form of highly centralized or "planned" social organization is not an inevitable consequence of the existing situation. One may not accept the terms in which Mannheim has set the problem of "planning for freedom"; we shall certainly beware of the optimism wherewith certain writers on the "left" welcome the emergence of collectivism. But the dangers to which "Christian sociologists" are continually subject are those of ignoring the detailed, empirical facts of the situation in their analysis, and of the elaborate blue-printing of an unattainable Utopia in the specification of a program of action. Both errors, perhaps, have a common source, that incurable optimism which Catholic thought sometimes shares with metaphysical idealism, and which expresses itself in a refusal to recognize evil as a positive, and not merely a negative, force.

We must understand. We have an awful example of the "Foreign Office" mind in the egregious Sir Robert

Vansittart, who should serve, to the Christian in society, as an " awful example " for quite a considerable time to come. We must expect our analysis to differ markedly from that which commends itself to either wing of secularist opinion. But the hideous necessity remains. The justice we can achieve will be, at best, a " rough justice." Some Christian sociologists, despite the writings of such well-informed Catholic observers as Mr John Eppstein, welcomed the collapse of the League of Nations. Yet it is hard to deny (I think Canon Quick would admit this) that, had the League been successful in checking Italy's assault on Abyssinia in 1935, the principles of international law would have been vindicated. Such an intervention may have been impracticable; it certainly would not have " gone to the root of the matter." But the tendency of " Christian sociologists " to howl for the moon of a new Christendom, and to sit still until its necessity is recognized, has surely gone far enough. We may not, we will not, achieve Utopia, but we may, please God, just avoid hell.

In point of fact, we owe an immense debt to " Christian sociologists " for the thoroughness of their analysis, and for their recognition that the problem of social justice must include within its compass the question of man's relation to the soil, of the family, of the proper mode of education, etc. But the necessity of working here and now for immediately attainable concrete objectives has too often been set aside. The " roughness " of all human justice, its inevitable imperfection and inadequacy, due to the pervasiveness of that corruption we call " original sin," has been ignored in the interests of a Utopianism that is none the less false to the facts for claiming to be a deduction from the Christian doctrine of creation.

I am so much in agreement with what Canon Quick says concerning the dialectical principle in Christian ethics (pp. 33 *ff.*) and with his explicit assertion on p. 37 that " the word of the Cross is always the last word for this earthly life " that I am loth to quarrel with his whole treatment of the problem of the Church and the world in relation to the present situation. On p. 64 he says: " So long as the world remains unredeemed, the Church needs the State and its justice to bring men to the gospel and open their minds to its meaning." Now, no one who knows anything of conditions in the " distressed " areas in this so-called Christian country of ours will hesitate to agree with Canon Quick

that conditions, tolerated by an unjust society, are an obstacle in the way of men's response to the gospel of the mercy of God. I remember vividly visiting a common lodging-house in a Monmouthshire mining town with a parish priest during the summer before the war, and hearing him say bitterly: "And it falls to me to preach the love of God to men condemned to live like that." Social conditions in Britain (as set out statistically in Cole's invaluable *Condition of Britain*) have been an almost insuperable barrier to evangelism for generations. Before embarking in September, 1939, upon the "defence of Christian civilization" we had, *all of us*, done much to remove the very memory of the blessed Christ from our countrymen at home.

But a considerable part of Quick's discussion of the relation of the Christian to contemporary secular society is vitiated by the weakness of his analysis of totalitarianism. In some respects a much better empiricist in his political analysis than the dogmatists of "natural law," he slips up badly in his failure to pay attention to those aspects of the situation recently stressed by such writers (very different in outlook, be it emphasized) as John Middleton Murry and Christopher Dawson. Quick ignores the "techniques of psychological aggression" (to borrow Dawson's phrase), which must be employed by the modern state in the organization of its community for war. Concerned to argue against, *e.g.*, Berdyaev (p. 8) that there is not of necessity something demonic in the state, prepared to admit (*loc. cit.*) that the "totalitarian fever has led the modern state in many cases to assume the rôle of anti-Christ," he does not ask whether this fever is not endemic in the whole present situation, and whether, as a consequence, for us here and now there is not something demonic in the state. His discussions of pacifism (pp. 21 *ff.* and pp. 69 *ff.*) are excellent. He is honest enough to admit (p. 24) that, if the facts disprove the possibility of a just war under modern conditions, then for the Christian the war is better lost than won.

But in his discussion of the general problem of the relation of the Christian to secular society, Quick's framework is excessively scholastic. Law supplies the necessary basis of gospel; the state is the source of positive law. A neat scheme, and, like Demant's dialectics, too satisfying to do justice to the utterly tragic character of the human situation! We are under obligation to seek justice; as citizens, we are bound to co-operate with our country's undertakings. But

the hideous problem which confronts the Christian at this moment is that of circumscribing that co-operation with interior resistance to those techniques of psychological aggression that the state employs to render that very co-operation more effective.

Man is to-day menaced in the very citadel of his person. As we seek to remove from Europe the hideous shadow of the Gestapo, we are ourselves being " broken down from within." We do not perceive this transformation to which we are subjected, except in its more dramatic expressions —*e.g.*, when " Christian sociologists " regard as socially irresponsible protests against the institution of the concentration camp for refugees in Great Britain, and prefer to dogmatize about the obscurities of the French situation. But all the while it goes its way unheeded. We claim to defend " Christian civilization," and threaten, in certain circumstances, to destroy its monuments in Rome.[1] We become progressively desensitized. Our " synthetic barbarism " differs from that of Attila in two respects: it is superior in sheer destructive force, and it lacks the spontaneity of its ancestor. It is artificial and self-induced. It is not simply a matter of our becoming less sensitive on such matters as " reprisals," however, though whether our claim to be civilized can much longer be regarded as compatible with our toleration of the moral indecencies of the editorials in certain papers is perhaps questionable. It is rather that we are allowing the war to mould our lives, *within as well as without*, in a manner that gives little encouragement to all but the most wistful Utopians.

The task of the Christian Church in this present is unspeakably hard. Yet its burden is clear. The grace of God, operative through its visible life, is not the icing of the human cake, if we may use the expression. Without that grace there can be no cake at all. The state is not a necessary, providential substructure of the life of grace. Its justice cannot be achieved, certainly not to-day, when its demonic pretensions are almost inevitable, without the continual corrective of the message of the gospel, wherein alone the dignity of the human person is vindicated. The task of the Church to-day is unspeakably hard because it involves a

[1] One might hope that some champions of " Christian civilization " at least would heed the nobility of the Pope's sermon this Easter. In this situation the assertion of the Church's pastoral office has a true prophetic significance.

degree of detachment that everything within the situation conspires to render impossible.

The term "detachment" has a Stoic flavour that to the superficial reader seems incompatible with the realism of the Incarnation. But only in union with Christ, who is from above, not from below, dare we enter the final depths of contemporary despair. We are entering a situation in which our first weapon, perhaps our only weapon, will be the intimacy of our union with the Crucified. For though the face of the Crucified is marred above that of the sons of men, yet His stripes are the ensign of an infinite compassion. In language that recalls the idiom of Barth's *Römerbrief*, Mr Middleton Murry spoke at the Malvern Conference of the Christian's impotence in face of the present situation. Yet the awareness of that impotence is the beginning of our victory.

We are so much under the sway of the "dogmas" of the world around us that we have lost faith in the reality of action on the spiritual plane. The victory of Gethsemane is perhaps the only victory that we shall know in our generation. The defence of the human person first and foremost devolves on the Christian who would make of his eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of Man the very stay of his life.

For that reason we cannot be too careful, in this present, in respect of our ordering of the liturgy and offices of the Church. I am credibly informed that the celebrant of the solemn Eucharist in an English cathedral one Sunday in Lent bade the faithful give thanks, not for the redemption of all mankind, to which the Eucharist bears witness, but for the more effective bombing of their fellow-Christians in Germany. Of course, he did not put the matter quite like that! It is appallingly hard for a national Church (and I am impenitently convinced, I am afraid, that that is a self-contradictory notion in precisely the same sense in which the "square circle" and "round square" of the logic text-books are such) to create in the individual member's mind that well-nigh intolerable tension that is the condition of our salvation. But the liturgies and offices of the Anglican communion are (praise God) a protest against the leadership of the Church of England. We should exploit their possibilities here and now in our war against the demons.

And though we may welcome the astringent political commentary of the editor of *The Cambridge Review*, and

admit (to borrow F. A. Voigt's phrase) their obscurantism, let us not forget to extend our charity to Acland *et hoc genus omne*. The blessed Christ was ever tolerant of these, whose folly was an index of their zeal for justice.

D. M. Mackinnon.

"G.O.E."

The short article on G.O.E. by the Rev. John Boys in the May issue of Theology may be (quite unintentionally) misleading, since it unfortunately does not take into account the alterations in the syllabus and working of G.O.E. which were announced in 1937; since 1939 the examination has been conducted in accordance with these new regulations. The revision was the outcome of a series of conferences between the Examinations Committee of C.A.C.T.M. and the Conference of Principals of Theological Colleges. It was designed to meet, at any rate to some extent, just the kind of criticism which Mr Boys makes. In the light of eighteen years' experience of the working of the old G.O.E., such criticism was widely felt to be reasonable. Theologically, the aim of the revision was to encourage greater emphasis on Bible study and the biblical foundations of doctrine, morals and worship; to encourage, that is to say, a "whole view" of sacred history and its implications. Practically, the main principle of the new syllabus is that the examination is to be treated as a whole. There are no longer two parts. A candidate may take all the papers at one examination, or, for convenience, he may take them in two groups. He is entirely free to offer in his first group such papers as he may wish (provided only that he offers not fewer than four). The remainder of the papers he offers in his second group. It will be seen that this plan gives the colleges the widest freedom to arrange their teaching courses as they think best. Colleges are experimenting to find out what is the best method of using this freedom, both as regards teaching arrangements and the grouping of papers for examination purposes. This elasticity is particularly valuable because of the great variety of circumstances in which different colleges work, and the wide variations in the educational development of theological students. It is too soon to say whether the new arrangement has achieved the objects which it was designed to promote. But it certainly makes possible experiment on the lines advocated by Mr Boys, and in other directions. Mr Boys suggests that the course should be extended to four years. There is a growing body of opinion which favours

(*Continued on p.* 373.)

MISCELLANEA

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

JANET ADAM SMITH (Mrs. Michael Roberts) is a daughter of the Very Rev. Sir George Adam Smith, and was Literary Editor of *The Listener* till 1935. She has written a Life of R. L. Stevenson, and edited *Poems of Tomorrow* (1935).

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SUNDAY OBSERVANCE

A correspondent writes:

"I agree with the theme of the May editorial, but not with the first paragraph. I do not think one ought to make depreciatory remarks about the posthumous nonconformist conscience. The question is too serious for that. I should interpret the Commons' vote as an expression of a genuine uneasiness about the infiltration of Nazi totalitarian methods into this country. We, including our chief politicians, introduce the name of God into all references to our war; we have national days of prayer; we exempt clergy from military service; and we promise to rebuild at national expense churches destroyed by bombing; but at the same time we multiply obstacles to public worship. The Home Guard drills on Sunday mornings, youth is trained in the Air-training and other schemes, A.R.P. and fire-watching squads hold their meetings on Sundays (I have refused to attend such meetings on Sundays in X); and generally, with munition and other work continuing, we call upon the Name of the Lord on political platforms, but fill up Sundays with national service. I interpret the vote against Sunday cinemas as an expression of a real uneasiness on this point. Are we not in danger of a Nazi idea of God as bound to help us? *Laborare est orare* is difficult for ordinary folk like myself unless there is some little time for *orare* as well. Therefore I think that the editorial should have recognized the better side of the vote. If Sunday work and Sunday cinemas are allowed full and free scope, what is the place of that Divine assistance which we invoke now and then?

"Then we come to the Church's part. I should like to see more emphasis on the need for preaching. As an Anglican I

find no difficulty in attending a liturgical service; but the preaching of the Word which I hear is generally the very reverse of helpful. I prefer to attend upon Presbyterian divines when I want to be edified spiritually by the preaching of the Word. Unless we take this preaching seriously, I do not see how we can expect people to attend public worship, except the devout few who understand liturgical worship.

"Finally, rest. I think the old tradition in which I was brought up of going to church both morning and evening is irrecoverable. Ought not the Church to try to get good music and edifying plays on Sundays instead of jazz and bad films? And ought it not to inculcate some religious reading as part of the Sunday rest? The parish Communion with its five-minute sermon cannot produce instructed Christians; what is to be done to supplement this?"

THE STREET WHICH IS CALLED STRAIGHT

THE FAITH IN ENGLAND. Signposts, No. 12. By A. H. Rees. Dacre Press. 1s.

With this historical survey of the Church of England the series of *Signposts* is concluded, and the author's task has been to demonstrate that the theological tradition with which previous volumes have been concerned is the authentic doctrine and discipline of this church and realm of England. The demonstration has involved the attempt to relate the history of the Church of England from Augustine to the present day in less than two hundred pages. Mr Rees is to be congratulated on the measure of successful compression which he has achieved. He has written a lucid yet succinct outline of his position. But this very circumstance involves several difficulties. First, the story is severely selective, both in facts mentioned and in citation of authorities. Mr Rees may observe justly that selection was inevitable; but it is the more difficult to ascertain whether his selection is representative. Secondly, in so small a booklet the writer throughout is arguing in behalf of a thesis; and it is difficult within his compass to establish that thesis which involves a survey of thirteen hundred years of history. Much more difficult is the task of examining the author's main positions within the rigid limits of a review.

With a very considerable part of Mr Rees' book I am in agreement. The demonstration that the Anglican reformation differed in many important respects from the continental movements led by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin is not difficult. Nor is it hard to indicate the respects in which the reformed Church of England maintained the Catholic (as distinct from Roman) faith, order, and liturgy. Some of Mr Rees' judgments on Luther and Calvin are very disputable, and should be

challenged. But economy of space indicates the wisdom of concentrating attention on his interpretation of the history of the Church of England. It is, I believe, not an unfair judgment to say that this Signpost bears the inscription *Vade in vicum qui vocatur Rectus*. That straight street begins from Rome with the mission of Augustine, and returns to Rome; and along its unswerving directness the Church of England must be shown to have travelled. Mr Rees therefore, for example, emphasizes always the subordination of England to Rome during the Middle Ages. This is, of course, admitted; but when he comments that the Church of England had " a certain degree of isolation " and " there were periods, as, for example, the reign of William the Conqueror, when she ordered her affairs in relative independence of the rest of the Church " (p. 24), the reader can hardly avoid remembering the striking circumstance pointed out by Professor Whitney that " between 688 and 1050 there were consecrated 376 English bishops and in no single case is there any sign of a papal share either in appointment or consecration." For three and a half centuries the English Church would seem to have enjoyed a very considerable " degree of isolation " and even relative independence from papal authority.

It is necessary, however, to come directly to one of the main planks in Mr Rees' platform, which may be stated in his own words concerning the relationship between the Church of England and Rome during and after the Reformation:

> The Church of England contented herself with stating that as a civil magistrate he [the Pope] had no jurisdiction within this realm of England (p. 95).
>
> The Church . . . denied the civil jurisdiction of the papacy in this realm, saying nothing of its spiritual jurisdiction or of its temporal sovereignty within the papal states (pp. 137-138).

It is difficult to interpret the statement of Article XXXVII—*Romanus pontifex nullam habet iurisdictionem in hoc regno Angliæ*—as embracing only civil, and not ecclesiastical, jurisdiction (the question of the temporal power in the papal states is not relevant); and Mr Rees brings no convincing evidence to support his restrictive interpretation. Moreover, not once does he mention the famous preamble to the Act of Appeals of 1533, one of the most important statutes of the Tudor reformation. This preamble, after having declared this realm of England to consist of " a body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in terms and by means of spiritualty and temporalty," proceeded to affirm of the former that:

> The body spiritual whereof having power, when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question or of spiritual learning, then it was declared, interpreted, and showed by that part of the body politic, called the spiritualty, now being usually called the English Church,

which hath always been reputed and also found of that sort, that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number, it hath been always thought, and is also at this hour, sufficient and meet of itself without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties, as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain.

It is difficult not to read this preamble as a denial of the spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the papacy over England; and, in fact, the statute enacted the abolition of all appeals to Rome. Mr Rees, however, dislikes Acts of Parliament, especially those affecting the breach with Rome, as not having been consented to by the Church. Always he speaks with respect of the Convocations—when they support his thesis. On March 31, 1534, the Convocation of Canterbury—yes, even the Lower House, composed of those inferior clergy to whom Mr Rees looks (p. 154) in 1662, "as in Elizabethan days," to maintain "the doctrine and discipline of the Church"—gave answer to the question:

whether the Roman pontiff has any greater jurisdiction bestowed on him by God in the Holy Scriptures in this realm of England than any other foreign [externus] bishop,

by 34 Noes, 1 doubtful, and 4 Ayes. On May 15 following the Convocation of York, considering the proposition "that the Bishop of Rome has not in Scripture any greater jurisdiction in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop," the prelates and clergy "after careful discussion had in that behalf and mature deliberation, unanimously and concordantly with no dissentient, affirmed the conclusion above-mentioned to have been and to be true and concordantly consented to the same."

Accordingly the Act of Supremacy of 1534 gave the Crown not only civil but spiritual jurisdiction, as did the Act of Supremacy of 1559 by enacting

that such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority have heretofore been or lawfully may be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state or persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities shall for ever . . . be annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm.

Mr Rees may reply that the Church was not consentient to such statutes. But its clergy, high and low, were required by the Royal Injunctions of 1536 to declare in their sermons quarterly "that the Bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction having no establishment nor ground by the law of God, was of most just causes taken away and abolished," and "therefore they owe unto him no manner of obedience or subjection," a requirement continued in the Elizabethan Injunc-

tions of 1559 with the verbal alteration that the clergy were to teach their people that " no manner of obedience or subjection within her highness' realms is due unto any such foreign power "; whilst this was repeated in the first Canon of the Canons of 1604, which were enacted by Convocation and signed by the Crown without any intervention of Parliament whatever. Newman himself, in Tract XC, adopted this interpretation of Canon 36, that no foreign prelate had any " jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm," observing that " this is the profession which everyone must in consistency make who does not join the Roman Church. If the Bishop of Rome has jurisdiction and authority here, why do we not acknowledge it and submit to him?" It is rather difficult to interpret the last four centuries of Anglican history as involving a repudiation only of the *civil* jurisdiction of the papacy.

In view of Mr Rees' predilection for decrees of Convocation, especially for the Canons of 1571, it is surprising that the Canons of 1604 are not once mentioned, though their constitutional authority is impeccable when compared with those of 1571. Recourse to them might have qualified his opinion that in the Prayer Book revision projects of 1927-28 " for the first time the Church was to regard the Eucharistic vestments . . . as optional " (p. 175). The twenty-fourth Canon ordered that at the celebration of the Holy Communion in all cathedral and collegiate churches " the principal minister using a decent cope and being assisted with the gospeller and epistoller agreeably, according to the advertisements published anno 7 Eliz."; and Canon 58 required " every minister saying the public prayers or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church shall wear a decent and comely surplice with sleeves to be provided at the charge of the parish."

Mr Rees devotes one chapter to an examination of the Thirty-Nine Articles, following the familiar line of Newman's Tract XC and many subsequent apologies. There is little either novel or unacceptable in this position nowadays, save perhaps where perversity impels him to a couple of pages (pp. 111-113) on one of his pet subjects, the compatibility of belief in the Immaculate Conception with Article XV (even he does not suggest that the Church of England should add it to its *credenda* in view of Article XX's declaration that the Church *præter illos* [the Scriptures] *nihil credendum de necessitate salutis debet obtrudere*); or where his zeal for " the infallible teaching authority of the Catholic Church " finds difficulty in face of Articles XIX and XXI, from which he emerges with the observation that " the infallibility of the Church of Rome has indeed never been generally accounted an article of faith " and the comforting footnote that the Vatican decree of 1870 " in decreeing the infallibility of the Roman pontiff characterized it as a personal

endowment in virtue of his office as teacher and pastor of all the faithful " (pp. 105 and 117).

The careful exegesis of the Articles, comparing the Forty-Two Articles of Edward VI's reign with the Thirty-Nine of 1571, stands in contrast to the sketchy treatment of the Prayer Books of 1549, 1552, and 1559. It was the 1552 Book which was authorized in 1559

> with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise.

By another clause of the 1559 Act of Uniformity the Ornaments Rubric was changed; whilst the Black Rubric was omitted because it had never had statutory sanction, having been added in the 1552 Book by authority of the Council and after part of the impression had been made. Mr Rees simply affirms of the 1559 Book that " though all Protestant doctrine had thus been carefully expunged, it had no authorization from the Church." He makes no attempt to deal with the argument and evidence of Mr Ratcliff's essay on " Christian Worship and Liturgy " in *The Study of Theology* that

> it is undeniable that the intention of the compilers of the second English Communion Service was to set English Liturgy and worship definitely in the tradition of the Reformation,

and his observation concerning the Caroline liturgists that they,

> forgetful of the circumstances of 1552 and unconscious of the uncompromisingly reformed intention of the second Prayer Book and its Communion Service, interpreted by their patristic standards the form of the latter which they used, and (reversing the historical process) came to suppose that it was explained and made fully perfect in the Liturgy of 1549 (*op. cit.*, pp. 457-461).

In this connexion the reader observes the peculiarly selective method of Mr Rees. To establish his standpoint about the Eucharist he quotes Ridley, but never once does he quote from Cranmer *On the Lord's Supper*, though the primate's share in compiling the 1549 and 1552 liturgies is undoubted. At times Mr Rees seems to use his authorities rather cavalierly. For example, he quotes as " an excellent illustration of the way in which the Catholic doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament includes and transcends the partial statements of that doctrine associated with the Protestant reformers " (pp. 126-127) Hooker's words:

> These holy mysteries received in due manner do instrumentally both make us partakers of the grace of that Body and Blood which were given for the life of the world, and besides also impart in true and real though mystical manner the very Person of our Lord Himself, whole, perfect and entire.

To represent Hooker's position fairly mention should also be made of his conclusion that

> the real presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is not therefore to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament.

And again:

> As for the sacraments, they really exhibit, but for aught we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really nor do really contain in themselves that grace which with them or by them it pleaseth God to bestow (*Ecclesiastical Polity*, V, lxvii, 6).

This selectiveness of quotation is still more remarkable in relation to the Caroline divines. Mr Rees affirms that "the Church [of England] never accepted any but episcopal orders" (p. 141), a statement which is rather difficult of interpretation. If it means that no cases of men not episcopally ordained having ministered in the Church of England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be found, it is contrary to fact. Moreover, it would be only fair to the Caroline divines (for some of whom Mr Rees has a pronounced partiality) to remember how many of them recognized foreign non-episcopal Churches as true members of the Catholic Church of Christ, that they admitted their members to communion at Anglican altars in England, and that they themselves communicated with Reformed and Lutheran Churches when abroad. And there is the undoubted fact that also in England Dissenters were welcomed as occasional communicants with the Church of England in the seventeenth century as a healing custom. In fact, for each expression of opinion quoted by Mr Rees in favour of an identity of religion between Canterbury and Rome, another expression of opinion concerning the identity of religion between the Church of England and non-episcopal foreign Churches could be quoted. "Our religion and theirs is the same," said Bramhall of the Roman Church and the Anglican. "We may be and are of the same religion," said Laud of the Church of England and foreign Churches which had separated from Rome. It is the ignoring by Mr Rees of the volume of evidence which does not coincide with his own thesis which is the chief weakness of his survey.

It would have been well if he had ended with 1662; for in writing of the period after 1688 he forsakes history for mere caricature. For example, "hitherto she [the Church of England] had counted upon the support of the Crown, but the Whig revolution of 1688 set a foreign Protestant on the throne" (p. 152). Well! This "support of the Crown" under the cryptopapist Charles II and the avowed papist James II had brought the Church near to destruction; so that Archbishop

Sancroft in 1688 enjoined upon all the clergy to exhort Protestant Dissenters

> to join with us in fervent daily prayer to the God of peace for an universal blessed union of all reformed Churches both at home and abroad against our common enemies,

and himself set to work to prepare a comprehensive scheme to reconcile the moderate Dissenters to the Church. The rejection of the 1689 comprehension project

> brought about the first suppression of Convocation. The Convocation of Canterbury was not allowed to meet till 1700, whilst that of York did not meet again till 1861 (p. 155).

Mr Rees' chronology unfortunately finds no room for the facts that the York Convocation had not met for business since its assent to the Prayer Book revision of 1662, and that the Canterbury Convocation had not met for business since 1664. It would be interesting to know where Mr Rees would place this prior suspension between 1664 and 1688, since the "first suppression" occurred between 1689 and 1700. As the author proceeds, history is increasingly submerged by partisanship.

Mr Rees would have evoked more confidence if he had not attempted to write in such manner as to force the post-Reformation history of the Church of England on to the Procrustean bed of his preconceived opinions. Many such attempts have been made, some to establish the Church of England as differing scarcely at all from the other reformed Churches and some to identify it with the Church of Rome. The Anglican position has been traditionally and historically conceived as that of a *via media*. Mr Rees will have none of this; for the *via media* he substitutes the *vicus rectus*. But Anglican history refuses to be forced into such limits.

> I know not (observed Cosin) why they should be called the Church of England that join with the Council of Trent and plead so much to uphold it, rather than others that join with all the reformed Churches, and plead against that canon of the Church of Rome which hath laid an anathema upon us if we do not agree with them.

NORMAN SYKES.

THE LIGHTING OF CHURCHES

IN *The Idea of the Holy* Rudolph Otto points out that two of the more direct aids to the realization of the numinous are in a noteworthy way negative—namely, darkness and silence. He speaks of a darkness not complete but enhanced and made all the more perceptible by contrast with some lingering vestige of brightness. Such a semi-darkness as glimmers in vaulted halls, strangely quickened and stirred by the mysterious play of half-lights, has always spoken eloquently to the soul, and the

builders of temples, mosques and churches have made intelligent use of it.

Silence, the abstraction from sound, corresponds with dimness, the abstraction from light. More than one of the later prophets lays stress on its value as an external aid to worship; typical sayings are: "The Lord is in His holy temple, let all the earth keep silence before Him"; "Hold thy peace at the presence of the Lord God"; "Be silent, O all flesh, before the Lord." Otto makes it clear that the Christian idea of silent intervals in worship is not that of the pagan religions in which silence sprang from the fear of using words of ill omen, so that the Greek word which meant "to use words of good omen" came to mean to avoid using words of ill omen, and so to be altogether silent; and the Latin phrase *favete linguis* followed the same development, as Marius the Epicurean realized in his youthful observance of the religion of Numa. The emphasis upon silence as one element in Christian worship has another motive: it is, as Otto says, a spontaneous reaction to the perception of a divine presence.

The realization of the value of intervals of silence in worship is growing among us. Recent writers on Church music insist upon it, if only as a foil to the beauty of melody, and as a relief from the strain of continuous attention. We are getting away from the notion that divine worship should be an uninterrupted process of saying and singing, though there are still many services which merit the devastating satire of the anonymous poem "Electrified Evensong." But the value for worship of subdued light, the mean between glare and gloom, seems to be in danger of being altogether forgotten. Many churches lately built in the new manner are planned for an ineluctable glare by day and a garish flood-lighting at night, and both hinder devotion.

The preference for subdued light, the understanding of its value for recollectedness, is, as Otto shows, far older than the Christian tradition; it is the expression of a natural instinct. There have been few developed religions in which the inner shrine of the temple is not veiled from full light and in some degree secluded, still and dim. To take but one instance, Mithraism, the last and in some respects the noblest of those pagan religions which disputed with Christianity for the possession of the Roman Empire, well knew the value for worship of a subdued light. Its ordered ceremonial worship was held in caves, some natural, some adapted by art or excavated for the purpose. They were near the surface, so that they could be partly lighted from above by openings at intervals in their narrow length, in this resembling some of the catacombs. Under stress of persecution Christian worship had been driven into dens and caves of the earth, but even when it had found toleration it still occasionally sought in caves the seclusion to which it had become accustomed; in Cappadocia and in the neighbourhood of Damascus there are early churches hewn in

the rock, keeping to the plan of a simple rectangle with a large apse at the eastern end.

The association of subdued light with religious recollectedness has, in fact, been constant. " Clouds and darkness are round about Him," says the Psalmist; the symbolism suggested by the theophany on Mount Sinai is mystically interpreted by the pseudo-Dionysius as denoting the withdrawal from earthly sights and distractions which is necessary for the contemplation of God, and such a withdrawal of the spirit is certainly assisted by physical conditions. Even the Puritan poet understood the value of the dim religious light cast by the storied windows of Catholic art, and conceded it a place among the things which his sternly disciplined soul might permit itself to love. Newman well understood that self-knowledge comes more easily in the absence of all that beats insistently upon the senses of sight and hearing:

> We wait along the penance-tide
> Of solemn fast and prayer,
> While song is hushed and lights grow dim
> In the sin-laden air.

And the beautiful university church which Hungerford Pollen built for Newman in Dublin attains the ideal of a half-light which is not gloom. The novelists have understood this aid. John Inglesant at a crisis of decision finds security and a new confidence in the church of Santa Chiara " filled with half-light and half-shadow, half-silence and half-sound "; Shorthouse may have remembered the value for himself of the quiet, dim old Quaker meeting-houses in which he had learned so much before he came to a fuller faith. It is in the twilight of Westminster Cathedral that Father Franklin in Hugh Benson's story gains his swift entrance into a realm in which the Lord of the World has no power.

It must not be argued that the feeling for subdued light in churches was an unschooled instinct of early ages, lost by the end of the medieval period. It is true that when glass was rare and window openings were filled with translucent membranes or oiled linen windows of large size were impossible, yet the small windows were often fewer in number than the limitations of architecture demanded. The lantern-churches of the fifteenth century had become, like Haddon Hall, " more glass than wall "—the wall had been reduced to its minimum, great windows filled almost the entire space between the buttresses which took all the thrust of vault or roof. But these windows were never intended to be seen as we see them to-day. They were designed for stained glass; it was, in fact, the great advance in glass-painting which had led to the great size of the windows, the artists constantly demanding from the builders the utmost opportunity for the exercise of their skill. To-day we have no intention of

filling all windows with stained glass at the outset—that would be beyond our means or our generosity—and the flood of unscreened daylight for which architects provide, following the vogue of the moment, is far in excess of actual needs, even though Anglicans like to follow in their books everything that is said or sung. A church designed in the manner of late become fashionable gives no immediate impression of withdrawal and detachment from the world without, nor is it easy to attain in it that sense of the numinous which is the necessary preliminary to devotion. Many modern churches are at variance not only with the Christian tradition, but also with the instinct of religion in all ages.

There is, it should be remembered, an essential difference between the Christian and the pagan use of seclusion and subdued light. From Christian worship the idea of magic is altogether excluded. The priest is not separated from the people, busied in unseen rites in which they may not fully share, but priest and people are alike withdrawn from the world without, for concentration upon an action in which all have their assigned parts. It might be contended that the idea of magic is at least suggested in the Eastern rites, in which the priest is unseen when the royal doors are closed and the veils drawn. Yet the priest within is heard proceeding with the liturgy in words familiar to those outside the iconostasis; there are several points in the anaphora in which the choir and people must take their responsive parts, answering the priest in a manner which demands from them continuous attention to what is said at the altar. There is no suggestion of magic; the people are closely associated with the action even though they do not see every detail of it. For within the Christian community there is no esoteric group possessed of a revealed knowledge in which not all the baptized can share. Bishop Lightfoot pointed out that the characteristic words which St Paul uses in speaking of the Christian mysteries are such as express the idea of making known and publishing abroad; he speaks of proclaiming the mystery of God, of making known with boldness the mystery of the Gospel, of the revelation of mystery once kept in silence but now manifested; and St Ignatius also speaks of " mysteries of loud proclamation."

Rudolph Otto had an outside knowledge of Catholic worship with little appreciation of its spirit, though he regarded it as exemplifying in some measure his theory of the numinous. But he was right in judging that Catholicism, in common with other religions, had throughout its history been instinctively conscious of the value of subdued light in places of worship, shrinking from glare as inimical to recollectedness, and as a diversion of the attention of the worshipper. To-day some architects are inclined to defy this instinct, and in a facile use of new methods of construction are giving us churches in which recollected devotion is made more difficult than it ought to be

by a too ample fenestration and by flood-lighting. Their clients, and all who have the ultimate responsibility for design, including advisory committees, will do well to bear in mind the essential fact that churches do not invite to devotion unless they suggest by their subdued lighting the withdrawal from external distraction.

E. Hermitage Day.

COMMENT ON LITERARY PERIODICALS

It is said that when Mr H. G. Wells goes to sleep at night he can be heard repeating in the best Coué manner the formula, " I believe in World Federation, I believe in World Federation." I strongly suspect that Mr J. B. Priestley may be overheard saying the same thing, or something very similar to it. Judging from the March number of *Horizon*,[1] this is true. Here Wells and Priestley introduce a series of articles on planning for post-war reconstruction, and if these two efforts give any indication of the shape of things to come, then Heaven preserve us from a Priestley-Wellsian world ! H. G. Wells still believes that we can, and are willing to, leap from all that the Balkan conflagration means to a " federal world control of the air, . . ." " federal conservation of world resources," and to the acceptance of such a statement as the " Sankey Declaration of Human Rights as the fundamental law of the world." If these are what Mr Wells means by " Fundamental Realities " (for that is the title of his article), then the sooner he realizes that as far as the post-war world is concerned he is a back number, the better it will be. Mr Priestley exhorts us to begin planning at once, for " without any plans for immediate reconstruction we shall find ourselves in a chaos." We shall have " to improvise very rapidly." Judging from its general mood, " this country favours . . . a remodelling of the whole political, economic and social structure. . . ." What is urgently needed " is a combination of intelligence (Wells ?) *and* good will " (Priestley ?), for " many of the problems of our time are genuinely complicated." This staggering admission is practically the only indication Mr Priestley gives that he is trying to grapple with real problems. For the rest, both he and H. G. Wells indulge in vague generalities. We hope the ensuing articles of this series will not be as disappointing as the first. Apart from Wells and Priestley, *Horizon* is really stimulating and shows a steady improvement on some of the earlier numbers. An anonymous " Letter from France " reveals first-hand information of the state of affairs in both the occupied and unoccupied country. British stock is rising, the English " are in a fair way to becoming more popular than at any time in modern history "; the Germans are most unpopular; both Pétain and Laval and the Vichy group are disliked intensely. The writer thinks that there are forces at

[1] 6, Selwyn House, Lansdowne Terrace, W.C.1. 1s. monthly.

work which may result in something more than throwing off of national oppression.

The February number of *Horizon* contains Louis MacNeice's "Traveller's Return" (Mr MacNeice has just returned from America), in which he discusses the American attitude to British writers living in America, and whether or no they would be more useful if they returned to this country. "Will they contribute less to a new national order by living in a country where they are not nationals?" is one of the more pertinent questions which he raises. This article is an exceedingly good one.

The *Partisan Review*[1] contains a check list of European writers and artists many of whom have gone to America. Partly as a result of this immigration, a number of new, small magazines have been published, some of which are mentioned and reviewed. What the effect on American culture (?) of this influx of refugees will be it is impossible to say. Mr W. H. Auden is one of the poets who is still in America. His new volume of poems, *Another Time*, is reviewed in the January *Horizon*. The important thing is what K. J. Raine has to say about Mr Auden himself. The superficiality and pseudo-smartness of some of the earlier plays has gone. The note of humility (which was always there) is retained:

> All I have is a voice
> To undo the folded lie,

and

> We must love one another or die.

But evidently Auden, as his reviewer suggests, has not yet solved the meaning of love. For him it is still largely sex love. His love is "not a motive of action, that will lead men to practise virtue alone with no reward in view, and to die still human." Perhaps the war (and America) is doing for Auden what it is doing for a good many other people—smashing their second-hand, simplified, semi-political solutions and forcing them to build a new synthesis, stable, lasting, and free from the former futility. Just as the war is affecting the poet as a person (with its consequent influence on the matter of his poetry), so Mr Stephen Spender suggests, in the February *Horizon*, is twentieth-century civilization affecting the very aim and purpose of poetry. In reviewing "The Year's Poetry, 1940," Mr Spender is concerned with the poet's justification "in using poetry as a means of propaganda for traditional values which may, in fact, be revolutionary." Poetry has to interpret, to reveal the "significance of life at a particular time and relating it to life at other times." Most people would agree here. Our civilization may be so effete as to destroy that continuity of life which the poet is concerned to preserve. It may stultify life to such an extent that the poet feels he must use poetry as the means of spreading those values which he believes to be essential for coherence,

[1] 45, Astor Place, New York. 25c. bi-monthly.

unity and order. Referring to *East Coker*,[1] Mr Spender says that Eliot has moved out of the strict sphere of poetry and has "re-created an experience; and this experience lies outside poetry, within religion and philosophy," "it is a poem whose aim is not entirely poetry." What Mr Eliot has done through the medium of poetry is to re-create the experience of man's frustration and his desire to find God. But if the poet's responsibility is to interpret "the significance of life at a particular time" and relate it to life at other times, this is precisely what Eliot has done (and much more besides). In "Tradition and the Individual Talent"[2] Mr Eliot stated that the poet was not concerned with discovering or using new emotions, but "to use the ordinary ones, and in working them up into poetry to express feelings which are not in actual emotions at all." Poetry, as Mr Spender asserts, is no longer limited to purely poetic experience (no definition is supplied here), but is concerned with the real world, with truth (nor merely poetic truth), and with the actual contemporary situation in which we are involved. Poetry is not, as Mr Spender recognizes, a substitute for either politics or religion, but poetry and religion may be, and in the case of Mr Eliot certainly are, very closely related. "Religious experience is made use of" to insist on universal truths which have always existed. Though the personal element cannot be entirely excluded, the religious experience to which Mr Spender refers is that common to the mass of men who are sensitive to their own frustration and whose deepest longings remain unsatisfied. Thus poetry such as *East Coker* and plays such as *The Family Reunion* (another clear illustration of Spender's argument) can give to the world what is described as "a sense of values." Herbert Read's "Letter on Poetry" in *Poetry*[3] (a Bi-monthly of Verse and Criticism) is also concerned with this question of the function and purpose of poetry. He differs from both Eliot and Spender in his definition of poetry and takes his stand on the Wordsworthian "emotion recollected in tranquillity" idea and on Shelley's claim that the poets are the supreme legislators of the world. The last two issues of *Poetry* both publish a good selection of the work of the younger poets. In the March-April number, Alan Rook's "The Retreat" and Tom Scott's "Poem in Time of Search"—

> I have ignored, O God, too long
> The everlasting secrets binding the stars,
> Earth, and the sun, womb and tomb—

are particularly good. J. H. Kirkup's review of *East Coker* in the January-February *Poetry* excels all those previously written.

H. Smith, S.S.M.

[1] Faber and Faber. 1s.
[2] *Selected Essays*. Faber and Faber, 1932, p. 21.
[3] 25, Marchmont Street, W.C.1. Bi-monthly. 1s. 3d.

REVISED REVIEWS—V

AN INQUIRY INTO THE CHARACTER AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL. By James Drummond. London. 1903.

In his inaugural lecture as Professor at Cambridge, Dr C. H. Dodd referred to the latter half of the nineteenth century, and particularly, perhaps, its last quarter, as a golden age of higher criticism. The period when Dr Sanday at Oxford and Dr Swete at Cambridge were at the height of their powers saw satisfactory answers given, at least in broad outlines, to most of the critical problems which for two generations had exercised their predecessors in New Testament studies. The most striking of these achievements was no doubt the solution of the Synoptic Problem; in this case, as in others, lines were laid down which subsequent critical study has seen no reason to revise.

In one field, however, Professor Dodd found that criticism, at the period of which we are thinking, had met with signal failure. In respect of the Fourth Gospel the position at the end of the nineteenth century was, he says, little better than a deadlock. "Conservatives on the one hand and liberals on the other could damage each other's case, but neither could produce convincing arguments for their own. The two views were radically incompatible; both could not be true, and no way of accommodation commended itself."

And the controversy continued with undiminished vigour, and at first, as it may have seemed, with equal honours or at any rate with equal lack of result, in the period before the last war. To mention only work published in Great Britain, between 1903 and 1905 three notable books appeared, all supporting in different ways the conservative view and upholding the connexion of the Fourth Gospel with the son of Zebedee: the first part of Dr Stanton's great study *The Gospels as Historical Documents*; the book which forms the subject of the present notice; and finally Dr Sanday's *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel.*

It is no disparagement of these three learned works to say that none of them aroused so much interest as two volumes which appeared in 1906. In the first of these, *The Fourth Gospel: its Purpose and its Theology*, Mr E. F. Scott, then a young Scotch minister, abandoning both the apostolic authorship and further consideration of the external evidence, invited attention to the contents of the book itself. In his view the nature of its contents showed the book to be a re-interpretation of the Christian Gospel, written, under stress of great controversy, to meet the manifold needs of the Church early in the second century. The second volume, Dr F. C. Burkitt's well-known *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, did not deal at great length with the Fourth Gospel; but the author's trenchant indictment of its historical, as opposed to its religious, worth placed him definitely upon the liberal side. Five years later, in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia*

Britannica, appeared a short but brilliant article upon St John's Gospel by the late Baron von Hügel. Written with all the writer's characteristic fervour and religious insight, it certainly helped, as will appear below, to weight the scales against the traditional view. This last had perhaps received some support from Dr A. E. Brooke's "The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel," published in *Cambridge Biblical Essays* (1909) and containing some salutary warnings against neglect of elements of historical value in the Fourth Gospel; but, quite apart from its very cautious and tentative tone, its influence was probably diminished by the immediate proximity of Dr Inge's stimulating essay "The Theology of the Fourth Gospel," which showed a minimum of interest in the historical problems of the book.

It is possible that Dr Drummond's work was selected for notice in these pages to some extent because of a certain piquancy attaching to his book. For, in the first place, he was Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, which was closely associated with Unitarian belief; it was therefore all the more noteworthy that he should pronounce strongly, as he does in this volume, in favour of the traditional Johannine authorship, and in opposition to the views of his own eminent teachers, Dr James Martineau and Dr J. J. Tayler; and, secondly, that he should at the same time, unlike most of the conservative critics, regard the Fourth Gospel as historically untrustworthy in its record of fact. "I am unable to believe," he says, for example, "that such miracles as the turning of water into wine and the raising of Lazarus were really performed."

Dr Drummond's book, of more than five hundred pages, is a monument of patient and careful learning. Its lasting value is shown by the fact that, although it has been out of print for many years, it remains in a certain demand, and at times the cost of a second-hand copy has been four times as much as its published price of half a guinea. It should be noticed that he called his book *An Inquiry into the Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*; but we shall do him no injustice if we point out that his main interest was in the problem of authorship. The work is, indeed, divided into two "books," the first entitled "General Character of the Fourth Gospel," and the second "Authorship"; but the first "book" consists of 66 pages, and the second of 448. It is not implied that the attention given to the two parts of the title is so utterly unequal as these figures suggest; in the second "book" there is inevitably from time to time some consideration of the character of the Gospel; thus one chapter is headed "Alleged Anti-Judaic Character of the Gospel and Greek Philosophical Training in the Author"; but even if we acknowledge the presence in the second "book" of considerable interest in the character of the Gospel, it remains true that the problem of its authorship is by a long way uppermost in the writer's mind, and that his discussion of its character is quite

subordinate. He was persuaded that justice had not been done in recent work to the strength of the tradition in favour of the Johannine authorship, and accordingly nearly three hundred pages are devoted to a minute study of the external evidence, chiefly that of the second century; and it must be admitted, not only that this part of the book makes heavy reading at times, but that, to-day at any rate, it fails to carry conviction. The external evidence must be pronounced indecisive. Parallels to the language of the Fourth Gospel can be found in the Ignatian letters, and echoes of it in Justin Martyr; its authoritative position alongside the Synoptic Gospels is shown by Tatian's use of it in his Diatessaron; but not until the last quarter of the second century, in Irenæus and elsewhere, do we meet incontestable evidence in support of the traditional view. Dr Sanday's change of view as regards the authorship is symptomatic. We have seen that as late as 1905 he was still defending the position which he first supported in print in 1872; but in his last book, published in 1920, we read: "I'm afraid there is one important point on which I was probably wrong—the Fourth Gospel"; and he goes on to explain that von Hügel's article had made a great impression on him. On the other hand, it should be frankly recognized that no fully satisfactory explanation of the problem of authorship is as yet forthcoming from any quarter.

It was noticed above that Dr Drummond, although upholding the apostolic authorship, rejected parts of the narrative of the Fourth Gospel on grounds which can only be regarded as *a priori*; and to that extent his treatment of the book itself is unsatisfactory. But in many other respects it seems to the present writer the most valuable part of his work, and to have permanent worth. Attention may be called especially to his comparison of the Fourth Gospel with the Synoptists, and to his warning against an exaggeration of the differences between it and them; to his emphasis on the Hebraic foundations of the Gospel, and his arguments to prove that the writer was a Jew; and to his insistence that it was the order of thought rather than the order of chronological happening which was decisive for the Evangelist in the arrangement of his material. To adapt a phrase used in another connexion by the late Dr J. M. Creed, the seeds of most of the more important developments in these matters during recent years are to be found in Dr Drummond's pages. If we devote the rest of this notice to a brief account of a method of approach to the Fourth Gospel which seems to be gaining acceptance increasingly in recent times we shall in many cases only be drawing out points made, though often casually and apparently without full realization of their value, by our author.

We are invited to approach the Fourth Gospel primarily as a work of interpretation. This by no means, however, means that its history is no history. There is reason to believe that it contains truly historical material, more, perhaps, than Dr

Drummond would have been ready to admit; but the historical matter is here made the servant of a scheme of thought moving above the historical plane. The manner of the opening of the book (with an introduction of a largely philosophical character), the Evangelist's declaration at xx. 31 of his purpose in writing, the fact that the narratives are often presented as "signs"—that is, as possessed of deeper significance than could belong to them as only temporal events, and that this significance is sometimes set forth in deeply spiritual discourses with which the historical narratives are indissolubly connected—are sufficient evidence of this.

The writer conforms to the type of Gospel already current in the Church; that is to say, he gives typical scenes from the Lord's ministry (selected and arranged, it should be added, in pursuance of a careful plan), with a large amount of teaching, these being followed by a very full Passion narrative, which ends with stories of the Risen Christ.

His historical material was probably drawn from various sources. There are elements in it derived from the Synoptic tradition, mainly in its Marcan form. There are narratives not derived from this source, but belonging to a similar strain of tradition. But of whatever sources the writer has made use, his material is always made, sometimes, it seems, with no little difficulty, subservient to his main purpose. For the Fourth Gospel is a unity, in a sense in which the Synoptic Gospels are not. It has a real organic structure of its own, and could not be arranged otherwise than it is, without running the risk of becoming unintelligible. The thought is careful and deliberate throughout; there is real movement in it; and the different parts of the book are connected and interwoven in a way that is both deep and subtle.

So far as its first appearance is concerned, it would now be widely agreed that it cannot be placed much, if at all, later than the end of the first century; and here Dr Drummond did good service in his strong advocacy of an early date, quite apart from the question of authorship. The recent discovery in Egypt of a leaf of the Gospel, which can be dated within certain limits by palæographical tests, confirms his judgment here. More important than the date of writing is the certain fact that, when this Gospel was written, our religion was finding its place in the Græco-Roman world, and was learning how to adapt its message and its phraseology to the religiously minded in the great centres of Hellenistic culture. If, as tradition asserts, the Fourth Gospel was originally produced at Ephesus, it quickly became well known in Alexandria, and it shows in certain features definite traces of contact with Syria. It is usually held that the book is addressed to Christians, and no doubt one purpose of the writer was to confirm and deepen believers both in their faith and in their understanding; but the more we study the religious ideas

prevalent in the Hellenistic world at this era (though it is true that our knowledge of them is for the most part due to literature later in date than the Fourth Gospel itself), and then consider the arrangement and method of the Gospel, with its emphasis on such terms as life, light, truth, knowledge, and their opposites, darkness, death, falsehood, ignorance, the more probable does it become that the Evangelist also seeks to interest and win religious inquirers by holding up to them, in a form which they could understand, the person, figure and work of the historical, and ultimately the crucified, Christ. Here, he seems to say, is the goal of your search and the realization, and more, of your hope. It will be remembered that St Augustine, himself originally a neo-Platonist, emphasizes that the one new feature which he found in Christian teaching was that the Logos had become flesh, and therewith part of human history: "he that hath seen Me hath seen the Father."

R. H. Lightfoot.

FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

"We all noted with thankful hearts that the Day of National Prayer was followed immediately by great successes in East Africa, the victory in the Mediterranean, and the revolution in Jugoslavia."—From the Bishop's Letter, *Blackburn Diocesan Leaflet*, May, 1941.

"Mystère de l'Église, plus profond encore s'il est possible, plus difficile à croire que le Mystère du Christ, comme celui-ci déjà était plus difficile à croire que le Mystère de Dieu. . . ."—H. de Lubac, *Catholicisme*, p. 44.

"Since we are now at the beginning of a theological era of increasing rigidity in orthodoxy, it is particularly important to preserve the faculty of criticism, although this too has its own peculiar dangers."—E. Brunner, *Man in Revolt*, p. 10.

(*Continued from p.* 354.)

such extension for men without degrees and those with poor degrees. There are difficulties to be met, not least financial, but the advantages to be gained are substantial.

H. F. Kirkpatrick,
Chairman of the Conference of Principals of Theological Colleges.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE GOSPEL OF THE INFANCY, AND OTHER BIBLICAL ESSAYS. By the late Eric Burrows, S.J. Burns Oates. 8s. 6d.

In this volume Father Sutcliffe has gathered a varied collection of papers by the late Father Burrows. Nearly half the book consists of the essay which gives its title to the whole. This is devoted to a minute examination of the first two chapters of St Luke, and a careful comparison between them and the opening chapters of 1 Samuel, leading to the conclusion that the former were consciously and deliberately modelled on the latter. Father Burrows is unable to decide whether these chapters rest on an earlier document, written in Hebrew, or whether they were composed by St Luke in Greek, but in the former case he inclines to believe that the original was written by St John, or in the latter case that this section of the Gospel was "the product of notes . . . taken down in conference with the future author of the Fourth Gospel." The similarities between St Luke's Infancy Narrative and the narrative of the infancy of Samuel have often been remarked, but nowhere have they been worked out on so elaborate a scale or examined with such acuteness as here.

The second essay was read to the Society for Old Testament Study in 1937, and deals with the "Servant of Yahweh" in Isaiah. Here the thesis is elaborated that the Servant is the House of David, represented in the Exile by Jehoiachin, and in the future by the messianic King. Father Burrows adopts something of the fluidity of Wheeler Robinson's "corporate personality" view, and applies it to the more restricted "House of David." He is thus able to find detailed allusions to the career and sufferings of Jehoiachin, without identifying the Servant with Jehoiachin, as Sellin at one time did. The publishers' hope that "Father Burrows' solution of this problem will be accepted as final" is unduly sanguine. It is nearly forty years since Rothstein advanced a view closely similar to that of Burrows—of which Burrows was unaware until Professor North contributed to the discussion that followed his paper—and despite the learning and skill with which it is now presented, it is unlikely to be more final now than it was then.

The other essays, which are shorter, deal with the interpretation of Psalm 110, Sanctifying Grace in the Old Testament, the Doctrine of the Shekinah and the Theology of the Incarnation, Speculations on the Doctrine of the Two Adams, the Name of Jerusalem, and a Note on Ziqqurrats. Of these, the paper on the Shekinah, which was written in Latin a quarter of a century ago, and which has been translated into English by the Editor, will probably command the greatest interest. Here the view is

advanced that the first part of John i. 14 has unjustly monopolized the attention of theologians to the neglect of the second part, in which the word rendered " dwelt amongst us " points to a theological term *Skenosis* which alludes to the Shekinah, and which is comparable in importance to the term *Logos*. The identification of Christ with the Shekinah is then found to provide a fruitful key to the interpretation of a number of New Testament passages.

In all of these essays Father Burrows displays wide learning, and, yet more conspicuously, an acute and penetrating mind, fertile in suggestion and immensely stimulating. He illumines every subject with which he deals, and even where the reader may not share his conclusions, he will be deeply grateful to Father Sutcliffe for publishing these studies, and so giving us one more fruit of a life so early cut short. On p. 115 the Hebrew expression for the Infinite should be corrected, but otherwise the difficult task of editing a posthumous work has been excellently done.

H. H. Rowley.

Bangor.

The Steps of Humility. By G. B. Burch. Harvard University Press. 16s. 6d.

By a curious coincidence Mr Burch's translation of St Bernard's *Steps of Humility* was published very nearly simultaneously with M. Gilson's book on St Bernard's Mystic Theology. So it is hard for the critic to refrain from comparing the two, though it would be unfair to measure what seems to be the author's first work by the ripe study of a scholar of M. Gilson's standing.

Yet it should be stated at once that so difficult a subject as St Bernard's Epistemology (given as an introduction to the actual translation) can be adequately treated only by an expert in Medieval Theology. Moreover, Mr Burch makes his task even more difficult by not conforming to the accepted terminology. Thus he speaks of emotions instead of affections of the will, of free choice (*liberum arbitrium*) instead of free-will, and in the famous passage where the Saint asserts that the only " mode " of loving God is *sine modo diligere* he empties the words of all meaning by translating " to love always."

Apart from these minor deficiencies the arrangement of the " Study of his Epistemology " leaves much to be desired. Almost throughout the hundred pages or more of the Introduction the author first paraphrases a passage from St Bernard and then gives his translation of it, frequently followed by a footnote supplying the Latin original. He gives practically no comment, and on the rare occasions when he does do so he is far from elucidating the mystic's meaning, as when he states that Bernard's contemplation is " both cognitive and erotic " without defining in what sense he uses the equivocal term " erotic."

Though, according to the Preface, the absence of " historical or critical commentary " is intended, the Introduction would have gained in value if the " objective presentation of Bernard's actual doctrine " had been achieved by means of interpretation rather than by mere paraphrase.

But the real explanation of the inadequacy of the " Analysis of Bernard's Epistemology " seems to be the fact that Mr Burch's sympathies are all with Abelard rather than with the Saint. He is at heart a rationalist who fails to understand the deepest realities of the faith of the mystic. This is fully revealed in his paper on " Bernard's Criticism of Abelard's Theology " (Appendix B), where he states: " Bernard had perfect confidence in his own infallibility both in expounding the faith and in arguing rationally. Abelard, more humble, had no such confidence, but admitted his human fallibility." Here the author's failure to understand is complete. For what he calls Bernard's confidence in his infallibility is in reality his certitude of faith, whereas Abelard's so-called humility is nothing but distrust of his own mind precisely because that mind is not " made up "—that is to say, because he has only opinions instead of faith.

This absence of an understanding interpretation is the more to be regretted, as the author has obviously taken great pains with collecting his material and succeeded in bringing together a valuable selection of Bernardine passages not easily accessible to the average reader.

The actual translation is accurate and brings out the antithetical style of Bernard's polished Latin with remarkable skill. The Latin text of the Seven Steps of Humility is based on the critical edition of B. R. V. Mills, and is arranged facing the English translation.

H. C. Graef.

London.

The Social Function of Religion. By E. O. James. University of London Press. 7s. 6d.

As might be expected from a work by Dr James, this book sets out to examine sociologically the theological foundations of society. The aim of this enquiry is to discover the part played by religion in binding together individuals in the ordered, corporate life of the family and the nation. The social function of religion is one of the most important considerations to-day in view of the prevailing conditions of the times. Behind all the bewildering and complex movements of human life and society lie the deep-rooted religious concepts which mould and inform them.

An immense amount of reading has gone to the making of this book, with the result that it appears as a summary calling

for close attention and leading on to further study. To each chapter is appended a list of books for the student's use. As a guide for more advanced studies it is to be commended; as a book to read for itself alone it is, if anything, too closely compressed. The author has promised a further treatment, at some later date, of the themes upon which he touches in this volume.

In the meantime we have cause to be grateful for the present work. First, because it calls us back to foundation truths and basic principles. There is a great deal too much superficial study of social phenomena to-day. This leads inevitably to hasty judgments and quack remedies. Not alone by economic and political readjustments can human society be redeemed and reformed to-day. We must go back to consider and evaluate afresh the great basic truths and forces which guide and control the destinies of mankind. As Bishop Westcott implied when asked to advise an elector concerning the recording of his vote: "It depends on what you believe about God." So Dr James recalls us to first principles.

Secondly, we commend this book for the stimulus it will give to hard thinking in a region that is unfamiliar to many people to-day. It may well be that some of the author's statements may bring before the reader a point of view hitherto neglected or misunderstood. It may call for a total readjustment of his whole philosophy of life. Those who are not prepared to accept unchallenged any social program will find a book like this stimulating and inspiring. It demands, and must receive, close attention and a fearless, open mind. It is, in the best and commendable sense of the word, a provocative book.

Finally, it is essentially a Christian book, for in Christianity the author finds enshrined the ultimate and eternal values. One quotation must be allowed: "To-day men everywhere are beginning to feel the need of a spiritual philosophy of life and the world which will meet their deepest needs, answer the searching questions that perplex them, and give them an assurance of strength and direction here and hereafter. In a distracted age religion will achieve its purpose and function only if it is presented, not as an ethical ideal or aspiration, not as an intellectual proposition or pragmatic system, not even as an evangelical acceptance of Christ as Saviour and King; in short, not as anything less than the inbreaking on human history of God Incarnate, bringing to a world undone the gift of a new and endless life." That is the eternal truth to which this book logically and inevitably leads the reader.

H. L. Hubbard.

Hothfield.

HONEST RELIGION. By John Oman. With an Introduction by Frank H. Ballard and a Memoir of the Author by George Alexander and H. H. Farmer. Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d.

In these days especially there is much to be said for consciously recalling the good things that life has brought. And for me, who have been fortunate enough to study theology in Cambridge, there is much to be thankful for in that I have known and sat under Kennett and Burkitt, Creed and Hoskyns, and John Oman. Listening to Oman's Stanton Lectures, and sometimes discussing them in class with him, made me eager for *The Natural and the Supernatural* when it came; and when in that same year I discovered, however belatedly, *Grace and Personality*, I knew that something had been given me which I had not known before. And so when I saw *Honest Religion* in a bookshop I bought it at once, only to find myself a few days later in possession of a second copy, on being asked to write this notice.

And it would be enough to say of this book that it is worth while having two copies—one to keep and one to lend. Mr Alexander's and Mr Farmer's memoirs say in eighteen happy pages just what we need to be told, and then Oman's preface introduces the book. " It speaks," he says, " of what had I been patient enough I might have found, wise enough I might have valued, humble enough I might have possessed, kind enough I might have used to higher service." Oman is easier to read than he was to listen to, but his writing is often difficult until one reaches a certain familiarity with his rhythms and his patterns. And then one's heart warms, as mine did, when one meets again phrasing as characteristic as that in the sentence I have quoted.

The book is " largely based on various addresses given in Cambridge," and still retains traces of such an origin. But it is probably better so; for it is not against a standard of systematic unity that the book is to be judged, but as a series of reflections asking " what bearing and attitude would be entire honesty in making life a continual reasoning with God in the sense of laying our minds alongside of His and open to His persuasion."

And it is the honesty which makes the reading of the book such a salutary discipline. Each page has something which pierces one's defences, some sentence which reveals and constrains, and is relevant to our need to-day: " Yet we may not learn till the things wherein we trust for our security have proved to be deceitful mirages in the desert. Hence it is that, just when life is most distressing, it is most transparent and our vision clearest; while the times of our greatest darkness are the times of our ease." " Such times as ours, when forms, traditions, customs, organizations are being shaken, may just be to show us what cannot be shaken if we have patience to abide the test."

H. C. L. HEYWOOD.

CAMBRIDGE.

CHRISTIANITY AND OTHER RELIGIONS. By C. J. Shebbeare. Centenary Press. 3s. 6d.

LIVING RELIGIONS AND A WORLD FAITH. By W. E. Hocking. Hibbert Lectures, 1939. Allen and Unwin. 10s.

The aim of Mr Shebbeare's book is "to justify the claim of Christianity to be the rightful supplanter of all its rivals." This is attempted by a most engaging defence of the Christian temper "by alleging its superior, or supreme, correctness in the moral judgments which it inspires" (p. 106). Professor Hocking, on the other hand, having decided that Christianity is not yet ready to be the one world faith which a world within reach of unification demands, seeks to lay bare the ways in which the great world religions can contribute along with Christianity to the one world faith. Not by supplanting, not by synthesis, but by reconception, says Professor Hocking, is the way through. "Competition to displace is precisely that element of discord which statesmen find most repulsive in the religious scene. But there is an aspect of competition which is right and endurable —a competition to understand and include, a rivalry as to which religion can best express the meaning of the rest; which can save most of the religious treasury of the race—such a rivalry can hardly beget antagonism" (p. 202). His thesis is a fine apologia for the views set out in the Layman's Report on the Mission Field of a few years ago, though it does not quell the criticisms which that report called out. Mr Shebbeare's thesis would leave current missionary methods as they are. Professor Hocking's asks for a new method, which would be worked out in institutions similar to Tagore's ashram at Santiniketan. "I foresee a chain of such centres set around the world, hospitable to qualified inquirers and contributing—as centres of art contribute to the life of art—to sustain the continuing enterprise of reconceiving religion through world culture, and world culture through religion" (p. 207). Professor H. G. Wood has recently outlined a policy for the theological faculties in the modern universities which suggests that this prophecy points the way to a proper education for world citizenship, without raising the question of a world faith (see the Inaugural Lecture of the Professor of Theology, Birmingham University, 1940).

Neither author is affected much by Dr Kraemer's thought, neither mentions Christopher Dawson, or even Charles Gore. These omissions indicate a weakness common to both—namely, the failure both to distinguish carefully between the Christian revelation and the historical development of the Christian religion, and to take serious account of the belief in the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. Further, the comparative study of religions raises the historical problem of the relation between civilizations and the Christian Church. If Western civilization collapses, will the Church go with it? Or will it through its collapse contribute, as did the Græco-Roman civilization, new

elements to be grafted on to Christianity in the days to come? And is this the real significance of the religions of the East, as Professor Toynbee has suggested in his recent Burge Memorial Lecture? Is each religion meant to make its contribution to Christianity, leaving it as the spiritual heir of all the higher religions, or is Christianity the handmaid of the different civilizations, helping them in their progress? It would be unfair to say that because these questions are not faced these two books are of no value, for in their different ways both are important indications of the sympathetic approach to be made by a Christian to an adherent of a non-Christian religion.

J. A. Ramsbotham.

Ordsall.

The Bible Doctrine of Salvation: A Study of the Atonement. By C. Ryder Smith. Epworth Press. 7s. 6d.

Among the most constructive efforts of present-day theology there are coming to hand a number of books on biblical (as distinct from dogmatic) theology. It is rightly thought that differences in dogmatic theology may possibly be liquidated by fresh appreciation of biblical teaching when seen as a whole. Dr Ryder Smith's book will take its place as a valuable addition to this series, both because of its collection of biblical evidence and its treatment of particular questions. On occasion his elucidation of the meaning of a word as used in the Bible opens out most interesting theological consequences—*e.g.*, the word "death." His broad conclusion is given in these words: "It seems that the New Testament has a consistent account of the work of Christ and that this account is the climax and completion of certain truths that gradually worked themselves clear in Old Testament thought." Thus we are being led back to a fresh view of the unity of Holy Scripture, and a view which makes full allowance for competent criticism and in fact invites it. But there is still with us the problem as to how far philosophical or doctrinal presuppositions unconsciously entice particular scholars to over-emphasize certain aspects of Bible teaching and to underestimate other aspects. Unlike Dr Moberly, who in his *Atonement and Personality* expounded his philosophical presuppositions at the end of his great work, Dr Ryder Smith frankly lays down certain psychological presuppositions in his first chapter. Claiming that man is both individual and social (or societary, as he prefers to call it), he concludes that it is a general psychological truth that if any man is to do anything to "save" another (in the sense of changing his character) he must on the one hand identify himself with that other; he must know what it is to be like that other man, and yet on the other hand not to be like him. That is, he must identify himself with that other man and yet not identify himself with him, and thus because of this tension in

his experience he will feel the horror of that other man's sin more than the man himself, and yet finally that other man must himself consent to be " one with " the one who is to help him. This psychological presupposition is, of course, the principle of representative vicariousness which is constantly at work in moral psychology, and it affords a sound basis in human experience to help in some measure in the understanding of Christ's work for man.

But there is in the book an under-valuing of the sacrificial aspect of the Atonement. Both in the Old and the New Testament, Prophet, Priest and King are to be distinguished but not to be divided from each other. In this book Christ as Prophet and King receives adequate attention, but the same can hardly be said of the treatment of Christ as Priest. Has not the antithesis of Prophet and Priest been a little overdone ? Certainly in Christ they are combined, and any new presentation of the doctrine of the Atonement must combine these three aspects of thought. Moreover, it is Priesthood which pays attention to those very truths of psychology on which our author lays so much stress, and logically he ought to regard Priesthood, Sacrifice and Ritual, not as " secondary," but as the necessary means to get the truths of Prophecy believed and the obedience to Kingship rendered. The author's special ratio of emphasis in this regard does not, however, destroy the great value of the book, which is to summarize and explain biblical teaching on the subject of the Atonement. Dr Ryder Smith has put us in his debt by his careful scholarly work.

H. K. Archdall.

Lampeter

BOOKS RECEIVED

(*Mention here neither implies nor precludes subsequent comment.*)

Blackwell: R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century* (12s. 6d.).

Cambridge University Press: *The New Testament in Basic English* (8s. 6d.; pocket edition, 3s.); R. Livingstone, *The Future in Education* (3s. 6d.).

Macmillan: A. D. Woozley, *Thomas Reid's Essays* (21s.).

National Society and S.P.C.K.: J. Drewett, *The Ten Commandments in the Twentieth Century* (1s. 6d.); M. Avery, *Lesson Notes on the Old Testament* (3s.).

Oxford University Press: S. Kierkegaard, *Training in Christianity* (12s. 6d.); *For Self-Examination and Judge Yourselves !* (10s. 6d.). Translated by Walter Lowrie.

Pax House: A Member of C.S.M.V., *Windows on Jerusalem* (2s. 6d.).

S.C.M. Press: A. Richardson, *The Miracle Stories of the Gospels* (6s.); C. F. Rogers, *Astrology in the Light of Science and Religion* (1s.).

S.P.C.K.: T. Jalland, *The Life and Times of St Leo the Great* (21s.).

University of London Press: E. F. Braley, *A Policy in Religious Education* (5s.).

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